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EDITORIAL

BISHOP'S GAMBIT

Doctrinal divisions in the Catholic Church have rent empires and convulsed kingdoms because they have usually involved struggles for power that go beyond arguments about doctrine. The schism in the church that now separates certain progressive American bishops from the Pope does not yet gape like the gulf that split the Christian world at the time of the Reformation, but it underscores the conflicts between the authoritarian alliance that rules Christendom and a rising democratic opposition that would break its hold.

There are dozens of points at issue: liberation theology and the "people's church" in Latin America; the ordination of women; academic freedom, or the lack of it, for professors in Catholic colleges; and the participation of the clergy in those public activities that seem to offend papal political sensibilities. The focus recently has been on Seattle Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen, who has come under attack for supporting the religious rights of homosexuals, allowing voluntary sterilizations to be performed in Catholic hospitals and opposing a proposed Trident nuclear submarine base in the Puget Sound. After Pope John Paul II stripped away most of Hunthausen's important administrative powers, the Archbishop appealed to his colleagues in the National Conference of Catholic Bishops to defend him against Rome.

But like good politicians, the priests decided on a moderate course, which means loyalty to papal policy and "compassion" for its victims, plus a lot of earnest pleas for "dialogue" all around. That may be a long time coming. Papal authority rests on a patriarchal ideology that demands autocracy, male domination, patriotism and militarism. Hunthausen challenged those values, and he has learned how little room the system has for rebels.

ELECTIONS AND MONEY
Thomas Ferguson

ROSE BIRD
Richard Harris

OUR MAN IN BANGKOK
Christopher Hitchens

CHIRAC'S DILEMMA
Kenneth R. Timmerman

TOM HAYDEN
Jon Wiener

RECKLESS RENATA
John L. Hess

FROM U-2 TO P-3

NEW U.S. SPY FLIGHTS FROM PAKISTAN

LAWRENCE LIFSCHULTZ

Not long after the American U-2 surveillance aircraft was shot down over Soviet territory in 1960 and its pilot was captured alive, Nikita Khrushchev approached Pakistan's Ambassador at a Moscow reception and told him that he had looked carefully at the map, taken out a pen and drawn a big red circle around Peshawar, the capital of Pakistan's Northwestern Frontier Province. In his distinctively blunt way, Khrushchev was warning the Ambassador that, after Gary Powers's abortive mission, no further U-2 flights were to violate Soviet airspace from bases in Pakistan.

In spite of a secret "letter of understanding," which granted the United States full rights of access to the Peshawar base and the use of the Badaber electronic listening facility for ten years, Pakistan's military authorities pulled back from their part of the bargain in the face of international exposure. For the next twenty-three years, during which U.S.-Pakistani relations varied from intimate to tense, no regime in Islamabad, whether civilian or military, risked offending nationalist sentiments by offering facilities to U.S. military surveillance aircraft.

Since 1983, however, according to highly placed military sources in Pakistan, the government of Gen. Zia ul-Haq has allowed U.S. P-3 Orion planes to operate out of Pakistani air bases. The Pakistani Air Force base at Mauripur, near Karachi, is the most commonly used. A State Department spokesman confirmed in a recent interview that P-3 aircraft were using Pakistani airfields, "with the approval of the government of Pakistan." The department

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LETTERS.

We have received many letters on the Mother Jones *affair as reported by Alexander Cockburn ["Beat the Devil," Sept. 13], and as treated in the "Letters" columns [Oct. 9 and Oct. 11].* Mother Jones *chair Adam Hochschild and publisher Don Hazen both sent strongly worded rejoinders to Cockburn's reply of October 9. A majority of the readers' letters took us to task for devoting too much space to internecine battles. Several asked why we had given the principals in the affair so much room while ignoring readers' opinions. We agree that our readers should be heard. So, by mutual consent, Hochschild and Hazen have withdrawn their second round of letters in favor of letting* Nation *readers air their views on the subject. This will be our final exchange on the matter.*

CLASS BELABORED

New York City

I am outraged by Alexander Cockburn's class-baiting of Adam Hochschild as a result of *Mother Jones*'s dispute with Michael Moore.

Mother Jones's survival over the years can in large measure be attributed to the dedicated support of Hochschild. The magazine is one of those special publications that advance social, economic and political justice in a world of peace.

I first met Hochschild in 1978, when *Mother Jones* published a magnificent article about a division of the Bendix Corporation in New York City that ran away to Mexico. That shop belonged to Local 259 U.A.W., of which I am, and was, president. It is hard for me to believe that Cockburn would engage in a gratuitous and ad hominem attack against a significant ally of ours because he happened to be born into a family of wealth.

Sam Meyers
Local 259, U.A.W.

CLASS DISMISSED

Oakland, Calif.

As a longtime admirer of Alexander Cockburn, I was greatly disappointed by his scurrilous attack on *Mother Jones* and its board chair, Adam Hochschild. It seems that Cockburn is hellbent on keeping left sectarianism alive, not only by snidely referring to *Mother Jones* as a "quasi-liberal periodical" but also by suggesting that the children of the wealthy are always our class enemies (we must remember that "the rich are different"). Thus Hochschild's ruling-class ancestry, according to Cockburn, automatically allows him to think he "can get away with anything" and prompts him to "behave like a nineteenth-century mill owner." Michael Moore, the editor whom Hochschild fired, on the other hand, is an a priori hero and victim because he is "the son of an auto worker and the nephew of a man who took part in the famous sit-down strike of 1937."

As virtually everyone who had contact with him during his five-month tenure as editor acknowledges, Moore was just not able to handle the demands of the job. To make this unfortunate truth into a political event, pitting the working-class lad against the rich and powerful, is malicious. It appears to provide just one more opportunity for Cockburn to attack another institution and individual on the left, and to show us once more that he can direct his rancor at anyone or anything he chooses.

It is easy to ridicule aspects of the left in this country, as Cockburn seems increasingly to take delight in. There will be ample reason to do so, too, if left journalists can use simple-minded references to someone's working-class origins and expect readers to get misty-eyed at the mere suggestion of another instance of the old class struggle.

Ilene Philipson

CLASS ACT

Concord, Mass.

Thanks to Alexander Cockburn's column on the *Mother Jones* affair, many of us learned for the first time of Adam Hochschild's firing of editor Michael Moore. I had let my subscription to *Mother Jones* lapse because of its vapid articles, which had none of the progressive, hard-hitting quality of *The Nation*, *The Guardian*, *In These Times*, etc. It seems to have turned reactionary, like the once great liberal *New Republic*. A sign of the Reagan times, no doubt.

It is too bad that the man with the money can change the historic role of a liberal publication. It is especially sad that Hochschild can use *Mother Jones* to peddle Reagan's anti-Sandinista line against Nicaragua. Mother Jones must be whirling in her grave.

Steven Rosner

'BACK-ROOM BRAWLS'

Port Jefferson, N.Y.

As an uninvolved and unbiased observer of the *Mother Jones*–Alexander Cockburn feud, I think it is apparent that both sides are using the camouflage of politics to engage the rest of us in their petty personal skirmishes. I'd be willing to bet that most readers couldn't care less about who has a vendetta against whom in these internecine back-room brawls. If we want to read about personalities instead of politics, we'll subscribe to *People*. This is not to suggest that examining personal disputes cannot give us some insight into political opinions and processes. Joan Walsh, for instance, in the September 24-30 issue of *In These Times*, used the *Mother Jones* soap opera as a soapbox for raising some substantial questions about the nature of the contemporary U.S. left.

Cockburn seems more interested in blacklisting *Mother Jones* than in elucidating an ideological problem. It's also distressing that *The Nation* gives him so much space (more than a page) to rehash his complaints against the staff of *Mother Jones*. (Would other letter writers be given such leeway for such purposes?) As for the future of *Mother Jones*, its readers will no doubt use their own judgment and assess the magazine according to its ideological substance, rather than rely on Cockburn's—or anyone else's— preconception of political correctness. And as for the future of progressive politics, if this nasty little feud represents the course it is taking, then we have a sad state of affairs indeed. The reactionary ideologues, already enjoying their heyday, will have only to sit back and gleefully watch us defeat ourselves.

Marlon Ross

COCKBURN REPLIES

Taylors, S.C.

Some people seem to think I like answering these letters. Not particularly. It takes time and earns no money. I can't see why *The Nation*'s editors want to publish the present lot (except for the magnificent note by Rosner) after we've already had one go-round. (They say there were "many" letters. Aside from Hochschild's and Hazen's, eight actually; from where I stand, three pro, five con.) My guess would be that Fish and Bic Vic want to do a little something to soothe Hochschild, especially since they greatly benefit from the use of *Mother Jones*'s subscriber list, generated by the enormously costly mass mail shots which are the way Hochschild buys circulation for his magazine. Over at *In These Times*, James Weinstein does the same thing. He killed a column of mine about Hochschild and *Mother Jones* and later remarked to me, not by way of explanation, that he'd often asked Hochschild for money for *ITT* in the past. A lot of people seem to be hanging around *Mother Jones* and Hochschild with their hands out. In *MediaFile*, organ of the Media Alliance, I got trashed for what I'd written about *Mother Jones* by Laura Fraser, *MediaFile*'s managing editor. Amid some hoity-toity talk about disclosure, she somehow omitted to mention to her readers exactly what had happened in the preparation of coverage of the *Mother Jones* affair: she'd gone over to *Mother Jones* carrying *MediaFile*'s interview with Hochschild and his satraps to have it checked by them (the interviewer, Stan West, had not been told prior to his interview that these arrangements had been made), handing it in along with an article of hers she was submitting to *Mother Jones* for publication. *MediaFile* allowed *Mother Jones*'s lawyers to edit the interview. One thing this Hochschild saga has taught me is the poignant truth of that old English classified ad: Man with knife and fork wishes to meet man with steak and kidney pie.

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EDITORIALS.

And the Junta Knows...

No loudspeakers blared the news along the frontiers, nor did diplomatic listening posts buzz with excitement, but it can be confirmed from internal evidence that a military junta has deposed the State Department secretariat and now runs foreign policy for the Reagan Administration. From their bunker inside the Old Executive Office Building, within grenade-range of the Oval Office, the colonels plan and direct the adventures, interventions, disinformation campaigns and dirty wars that have come to characterize that policy. There's Lieut. Col. Oliver (Ollie) North; Lieut. Col. Robert (Bud) McFarlane, now a freelance; Lieut. Col. Robert (Bob) Earle; Lieut. Col. Jim (Jim) Stark; and a few nonuniformed attachés, such as C.I.A. veteran Vincent (Vince) Cannistraro and deception specialist Howard (Howard) Teicher. Liaison with the Commander in Chief is provided by Vice Adm. John Poindexter, who has taken to wearing a breastful of ribbons and medals, giving him the appearance of a Soviet marshal reviewing the Red Army from atop Lenin's tomb.

The colonels' writ runs large. They dreamed up and directed the Iranian weapons deal; they supply the *contras* in Central America, oversee Jonas Savimbi's Unita war

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against Angola (in concert with their friends in Pretoria), help the Afghani mujahedeen and generally carry out the Administration's global campaign against "terrorism," a phenomenon which they have the mandate to define and provoke, if necessary. They ordered U.S. "peacekeepers" to bomb Druse villages in 1983. They assisted in the mining of Nicaragua's harbors (with their friends in the C.I.A), and planted the phony MIGs-to-Nicaragua story on the day of the 1984 U.S. presidential election. They formulated the disinformation campaign against Libya last summer, among other masterpieces of deceit, and chased Abu Abbas's plane across the Mediterranean after the Achille Lauro shipjacking. Ollie North, the Rambo of the National Security Council (he is director for political-military affairs), is credited with the Grenada invasion, the bombardment of Libya and certain still-shadowy operations in the Middle East after 241 U.S. marines were killed in the Beirut bombing of 1983. Then there is his role in the *contra* war. It was North who in early 1984 established a network of retired generals and former spooks to deliver arms to the *contras*. His number shows up on telephone records from safe houses in San Salvador linked to Eugene Hasenfus's mission improbable. But the junta makes grand strategy as well as dirty tricks. Bud McFarlane is apparently the great mind behind Reagan's Star Wars initiative, the purpose of which, he says, is to "stress" the Soviet economy at its weakest high-technology point.

The Iranian caper turned out to be a world-scale bungle, but it is not the junta's frequent failures that constitute the greatest menace. The vaunted successes—Grenada, Libya and Abu Abbas—are acts of war and intervention, yet they are applauded by Democrats who fear offending a belligerent electorate in the grip of patriotic fervor. Now, smelling blood, the opposition attacks Reagan for hypocrisy rather than reaction, for betraying his position on terrorism rather than for taking such an absurd and contradictory stand in the first place.

It was embarrassingly clear last Wednesday night that the President is unable to mediate between the wahoos and the pin stripes, between the colonels in the O.E.O.B. and the career Foreign Service men at State. He could not grasp the central issue raised at the news conference—that the "backchannel" he opened to Iran was a pipeline for munitions to aid the Khomeini theocracy in its ghoulish, suicidal war with Iraq, not a line of diplomatic communications with some elusive moderate elements. Reagan had to lie and evade questions simply to keep his balance. For the first time, the White House makeup department couldn't apply enough pancake charisma to hide the Richard Nixon under Ronald Reagan.

With any luck, the whole cloth of the terrorism campaign will begin to unravel with the Iranian affair. The junta's genius was to mystify terrorism as a historical phenomenon, separate from the continuum of political conflict. But that was also its fatal flaw. The Reagan ideology prohibited the application of political means to the end of eliminating terrorism. When the military option was blocked, however, the junta abandoned its dogma, and the result was disaster in the political arena it had always abjured.

Green Tide

In these pages over the next two years Thomas Ferguson will scrutinize the relation between money and public policy in the United States: for example, how PACs and interest groups function in the party system; what their dollars buy them; and how the Democratic Party's dependence on certain sectors of big business affects its programs. —The Editors

As the tidal wave of Democratic Senate victories crashed over them on election night, the political commentators and network analysts who for years had been telling their captive audiences that the Teflon President was on the verge of a sweeping triumph that would cement the G.O.P.'s position for a generation suddenly had to come up with a new line. They rose to the challenge, asserting that the results were close to meaningless because the electorate had not been offered much of a choice.

The new Democrats, the analysts claimed, did not differ greatly from the old Republicans; they represented a "post-New Deal" Democratic Party. In addition, they insisted, the elections could not be viewed as a referendum on Reaganism because the outcome turned largely on local issues and particular circumstances. Nevertheless, *The New York Times* and Bob Schieffer of CBS News were certain that somehow the results added up to a big boost for the budding presidential candidacy of Senator Sam Nunn, the conservative Democratic defense enthusiast from Georgia. That the major media, leading politicians and various business figures are all claiming that nothing has happened is certainly significant, but as an evaluation of what occurred on November 4, that view is nonsense.

The Democratic Party's rise from the ashes of 1984 marks the failure of the Administration's arduous efforts to isolate critics of its foreign policy. The elections demonstrate conclusively that it is possible to win high office in the United States while opposing aid to the *contras*, raising doubts about the benefits of free trade, questioning Star Wars (or at least its deployment) and denouncing the Reagan Administration's obsession with weapons. But that is not all the election settled.

Last spring *The Atlantic Monthly* published "The Myth of America's Turn to the Right," the first chapter of *Right Turn: The Decline of the Democrats and the Future of American Politics*, by Joel Rogers and me. (Excerpts from the book were also published in *The Nation* for July 5/12 and July 19/26.) In that article we reviewed the evidence from dozens of opinion polls and concluded that no matter how often the press asserts the contrary, Ronald Reagan has not been the most popular postwar President, the Reagan agenda commands little public support, the electorate remains deeply attached to the New Deal economic issues that Democrats have increasingly abandoned and, in short, the claims that the American public has shifted sharply to the right are manifestly false. The election results bear us out.

The elections and the media response to them also contain

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a more somber lesson. Although the political views of the American people may not have changed much since the late New Deal, American politics certainly has. The average American now lives, and declines to vote in, a post-New Deal party system. That system is not dominated by the Republicans in the way the Democrats are said to have dominated the system of the New Deal era. Instead, two predominantly conservative parties battle each other over a narrow range of issues before an electorate that will almost certainly diminish with each stupefying and mendacious campaign.

Unfortunately, the deepest lesson of the 1986 elections is that America's "green party," the party of organized pecuniary power, is as strong, perhaps stronger, than ever. In the House races, the election results suggest that under-financed challengers have almost no hope of dislodging entrenched incumbent PACmen (and, increasingly, women). In the Senate, although some Democrats did narrowly defeat Republican rivals who outspent them, the picture is almost as bleak. Lack of money discouraged some potential candidates from making races, and those who defied the odds and ran had to raise enormous sums. In Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin, money—or, rather, its absence from the campaigns of liberal Democrats—played a major role in the campaign. THOMAS FERGUSON

Thomas Ferguson is an associate professor of government at the University of Texas, Austin.

Rose Bird

The defeat of Rose Bird as Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court could be regarded as no less than inevitable in a state whose highest claim to national respect was Rose Bird.

Voters there behaved, or pretended to behave, as if the referendum on Election Day to remove or not remove her from the big leather chair in the center was purely a state matter. It was, in the sense that she is their Chief Justice, but it was not, in the sense that she is a national symbol, which they have made her through their determination to dismiss a judge who has kept alive sixty-one men on death row. By a two-to-one margin, they had their victory, and by an immeasurably greater margin, we as a people have lost. Before the vote in California, the issue was vital; now it may be mortal.

The voters who threw out Chief Justice Bird were not throwing her out merely in California. They were threatening judges like her, who are embarrassingly few in a nation dedicated to the sanctity of the individual everywhere in the land. The voters were not saying, We disagree with your position. They were saying, We are destroying the independence of the judiciary to get our way. And so they have. Justice Bird took a heroic stand for the right to life, for the hope of justice that we long for, in this imperfect democracy. And the people's response was to vote overwhelmingly not against a person but against a branch of the government. They voted to make the government that is sworn to protect them sworn to protect only some of them.

The defeat of Rose Bird is certain to be nationally calamitous. Now elected judges in jurisdictions with similar electoral machinery for their removal will be readier to kill, as the contagion of this Western plague sweeps the nation, and it is bound to; there is no antidote to it, except satiation. Even Federal judges, with lifetime tenure, may come to fear the contagion, and their impeachment for "high crimes and misdemeanors"—such as expressing doubts about whether a person convicted of murder actually committed it, or had a fair trial to prove he committed it. After all, they will face not the public at large but the members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, all packaged for television, whose courage does not run high, under even the best of circumstances, these days.

The stoutest political foes of the death penalty, most notably Governor Mario Cuomo (and not, most cravenly, Mayor Ed Koch), will now probably be intimidated, too, and will end by taking the stand that most ambitious political men take: I must do this, so that I can stay in office to fight other worthier fights. If that happens, and the sweeping repudiation of Justice Rose Bird seems likely to make it happen, it will mean that not merely a brave woman but bravery itself was defeated. If that ensues, the victory of California voters will be more Trojan than Pyrrhic, for now the hidden troops of hate will pour out of the big horse called referendum.

We all know these haters. They are the people who must love the poor because they want to keep them that way. They are the gun-lovers waving their little pistols to prove their manhood. They are the officials of the National Rifle Association and its hundreds of adjuncts throughout this country, the professional gun nuts, who want to execute the people they have armed, and who are responsible for the hundreds of thousands of murders and crimes committed in the United States every year with guns. They support murder and mayhem for profit. And they are only a finger away from pulling the trigger on you.

If the Democratic Party had really cared about what it claims to care about—peace and decency and justice and fairness—and had been concerned about any of that instead of about politics as usual, it would have donated a few million dollars out of the scores of millions it spent on this election to save Rose Bird, and all of us. By neglecting that, it won a battle of numbers and lost the war of principle.

Probably like many of you, I have at times had fantasies about being a kingmaker, but never until now have I imagined being a queenmaker. President Rose Bird sounds not just fitting and fine to me, it sounds perfect—a true First Lady of the Land. It would be the only time since Harry Truman left the White House that I would have a Presidential candidate to vote for instead of against. To this glorious end, I pledge my sacred fortune and such honor as I have left. How about you? RICHARD HARRIS

Richard Harris, author of Freedom Spent *(Little, Brown) and* Enemies *(Richard Marek), is working on a political novel.*

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MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Bangkok, Thailand

What could be more agreeable than a few nights spent in the Oriental Hotel, centerpiece of a city bent on pleasure? There is even a special wing devoted to writers, and minor practitioners of the craft can claim a discount (I got the Noel Coward suite, which, though not as enviable as the Graham Greene or Joseph Conrad ones, at least enabled me to look down on the embarrassed occupant of the James Michener). In the long, *louche* history of this hotel there is an encapsulating anecdote. On December 3, 1941, the following small advertisement appeared in the *Bangkok Times*. It was surmounted by the British royal crest of lion and unicorn, and read:

> Reserve your table now at the Oriental Hotel for the special Christmas dinner on Thursday 25 December. It will be in good old Yule Tide fashion. Gramophone concert. Dancing on request.

And on December 31, 1941, the *Bangkok Times* carried this breezy insertion:

> Open as usual. The Oriental Hotel. Tel: 30257. Special discount for Japanese army and navy officers and government officials.

Thailand is the Honduras of Southeast Asia—a country for sale. Over the past few decades the main buyer of things in the country, and of the country itself, has been the United States. The entire nation seems to be geared to please Americans. During my stay the "civilian" government, which is in fact a monarchy underwritten by an army, agreed to act as host to one of Caspar Weinberger's strategic regional arms dumps. In the sullen refugee camps on the eastern border, quiet American "advisers" instruct the cadres of the Khmer Rouge in the niceties of Washington's thrilling last act in the Cambodian drama. Meanwhile, the Patpong quarter of Bangkok instructs Thai womanhood in the finesse of American desire, and sighs for the days when the U.S. army was serious about R&R.

In the July issue of the libertarian magazine *Reason*, which often has some suspiciously good stuff, there is an interesting article by a U.S. Foreign Service officer. Maurice Tanner has lived in Thailand for more than a decade, speaks the language and is married to a Thai. He writes of the country's enormous good fortune in having missed out on direct U.S. military intervention:

> In the early '70s I was on the side arguing that what Thailand needed was *less* U.S. military help, not more, and that they had to win their own way, or it couldn't be won.

Back then the lugubrious exponents of domino theory were confounded by Thailand, where a crude Maoist-Communist insurgency has not so much been defeated as has given up. There are various reasons for this, among them the slackening of Chinese support for revolution in Indochina and the fact that Thailand, unlike Vietnam, was never colonized by European imperialists. This last meant that the Thai kings adopted the sinuous form of mercantile ideology best expressed in those *Bangkok Times* ads. As for the Maoist insurgents, in the words of Maurice Tanner, they were overborne in a tide of "movies, cheap bus fare to the big city, pop music, blue jeans, running shoes, Ovaltine, Fab, contraceptives and Vicks Vaporub."

Cut now to Silom Road. This Bangkok thoroughfare is full of clichés, such as limbless beggars sprawled outside gleaming banks. Just off the main drag, in a street market above a video store, is the headquarters of Empower, Bangkok's only feminist union. The women at Empower have set themselves the immense task of improving the condition of the "bar girls." The population of Thailand is estimated at 52 million. Out of this total, 1 million females at the lower end of the childbearing age are directly involved in the commercial sex trade. The impact of this on the web of Thai social relations is impossible to gauge, but the impact on the young women is not. The files of Empower contain accounts of slavery (sometimes of children sold by impoverished rural families), of child abuse, torture and murder. A fire in a "resort hotel" on the island of Phuket created a few stirrings not long ago because in the wreckage were found the bodies of at least five women who had been chained to their beds. Of course there is disease, as well as unexpected occupational injury. Women go deaf because of the incessant loud music in the bars and suffer intestinal disorders because they are forced to throw up so as to keep ordering expensive drinks.

This is how a large portion of the capital for the Thai "boom" is raised. The tourist charters from Japan and the West are not catering to people interested in Buddhist traditions. They are no more attracted by those things than were the American soldiery who first got the hooker industry into high gear.

So strong is the nexus that binds the club owners, the police and the authorities that Empower doesn't even try to call for the abolition of the trade. "All we can do," said Chantawipa Apisuk, the union's founder, "is try to teach the girls English and try and educate them for better jobs." This isn't easy when the labor market is so flooded and when even domestic service vacancies are few. Still, the word is out, and the toilers in the comfort-of-strangers industry now have an idea that there is more than fate involved in their moral and physical prostitution. (Donations and inquiries can be sent to P.O. Box 1065, Silom Post Office, Bangkok, Thailand 10504.)

It was daring of Maurice Tanner, as an embassy officer, to venture unorthodox opinions—about the uselessness of military aid and heavy security programs—in a heretical magazine. His ideal of the identity between free enterprise and freedom is nobler than the discredited imperialism that it seeks to call into question. But the idea of Thailand as a vast bazaar of and for American commodities and gadgets obscures the fact that human beings are reduced to commodities too. In Tanner's laissez-faire utopia, who needs unions? In the actual world of the Patpong flesh market, everybody needs one.

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CALVIN TRILLIN

Now it turns out that some people didn't believe me when I reported a few weeks ago that I had found George Gipp (the George Gipp about whom Coach Knute Rockne had said, "Win one for the Gipper"; the George Gipp played by Ronald Reagan in the movie) in an old-age home in Sandusky, Ohio.

They don't believe that in real life George Gipp, who died so nobly on the screen, survived his illness (an impacted molar) or that he went to Notre Dame only because he couldn't get into Holy Cross. They don't believe that in real life, the Notre Dame football team lost the game it had been asked to win for the Gipper (to an aroused Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute squad, which had been exhorted at half time to "win one for the Principle of Logarithmic Function"). They don't believe that Notre Dame actually lost most of its games in those days, to schools like R.P.I. and Swarthmore and M.I.T. They think I made all of those things up. I'm not so much angry as a little bit hurt.

Some people wrote to say that Knute Rockne could not have been the one who taught Ronald Reagan how to turn defeats into victories (you call them victories, and if someone points out that they were actually defeats, you change the subject), because Reagan didn't go to Notre Dame in real life, even though he keeps referring to himself as the Gipper and even though he once mentioned as an example of the patriotic courage that makes this country great an act of heroism that turned out to have been from a World War II bomber movie starring Dana Andrews.

I didn't relish the prospect of facing Mr. Gipp with the news. If you had spent most of your life facing people who were under the impression that you had died in the second reel, after all, it couldn't be much fun learning that you might have been invented by somebody who's not even inventing at screenwriter rates. I could picture him there in Sandusky, peacefully gazing out on the rolling Vermont hills, trying to remember whether he was the one with the ranch in Santa Barbara, and wondering for the thousandth time whether a D in Latin from the saintly and vicious Sister Mary Magdalene was what kept him out of Holy Cross.

But I knew it was my responsibility to tell all of this to Mr. Gipp face to face, particularly if I actually had made him up. That seems truly unlikely, of course, although I haven't been completely confident about the line between fiction and reality ever since it turned out that the story the President keeps telling about the welfare mother who picks up her check in a Cadillac is something he remembered, in a slightly muddled form, from a movie in which the character played by Rhonda Fleming used a Lincoln to pick up her maid, played by Akim Tamiroff.

So it was with some trepidation that I crossed the lawn of the Seaview Harbor Rest Home, under a hot Arizona sun, and asked for George Gipp (the Gipper). He was sitting in the TV lounge, where I had visited him during the recent election campaign.

"There seems to be some question about your existence, Mr. Gipp," I said. "I think it's always better to get these things right out on the table."

Mr. Gipp seemed not to hear me. He was studying what he called his "Gipper map" (the map he had used to keep track of how many different electorates President Reagan had asked to win one for the Gipper). When he looked up he said, "It was just like having Rockne back again."

"But the President played you in the movie, Mr. Gipp," I said, reminding him that Knute Rockne had been played by the late Pat O'Brien, now Ambassador to Belgium.

"Reagan learned all his post-game spin talk from Rockne," Gipp said, tapping the map. "We lost every game that Rockne told us to win for the Gipper too (the Swarthmore game, the Oberlin game). But you wouldn't have known it to hear Rockne talk."

"I wish the people who don't believe in your existence could hear you say that, Mr. Gipp," I said.

"Look at what Reagan said about the election results that showed his senatorial candidates getting creamed all over the country," Mr. Gipp told me. "He said the results brought 'pretty good news.' He said he's pleased he was able to get across the message of how important it is to have a firm defense. Those are almost the exact words Rockne used after Swarthmore beat the bejeebers out of us."

"Then it doesn't bother you that just about all the races he asked people to win for the Gipper were lost?" I asked. "After all, you're the Gipper."

Mr. Gipp smiled, thinking back on the old days. "It was Rockne all over," he said. "It usually took Rockne about six months to start talking about the undefeated season we'd had. I figure by spring Reagan will have managed to interpret the fact that the Republicans won the governor's race in Arkansas as a national mandate for Star Wars."

"I'm glad you're taking all this so well, Mr. Gipp," I said, not wanting to upset him with the news that the Republicans had lost the governor's race in Arkansas.

"It almost makes me wish I hadn't croaked in the second reel," he said.

I left him there, smiling in his memories, and walked out into the cold Wisconsin rain.

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COMING NEXT WEEK

How can the U.S. peace movement take advantage of the opening created by the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting at Reykjavik? E.P. Thompson, Marcus Raskin, Pam Solo, Greg Mitchell, Senator Tom Harkin, as well as other activists and experts respond to *The Nation*'s question.

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ARTICLES.

NEW FRENCH CONNECTION

Chirac's Hostage Dilemma

KENNETH R. TIMMERMAN

Paris

"We don't negotiate with kidnappers," French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond snapped at reporters at a November 7 lunch here. "And I don't understand why we have come under so much criticism lately." A week later, facing a stormy Parliament, Prime Minister Jacques Chirac turned on opposition deputy Pierre Beregovoy, who had compared the government's satisfaction over the recent release of two French hostages in Lebanon to the "cowardly relief the French felt after meeting Hitler in Munich." "A former Finance Minister is not necessarily a foreign policy expert," Chirac retorted. "We have gathered the fruits of our pragmatism . . . and we will continue until all our hostages have been released."

Are the French negotiating with states they have regularly criticized for sponsoring terrorism? Have they struck a deal with the Abdallah brothers in Lebanon, who French intelligence says are responsible for at least two of the Paris bombings in September? Is Chirac attempting, as he suggested in a November 7 interview with *The Washington Times*, to exonerate Damascus from accusations in connection with the attempt to blow up the El Al airliner and thus justify France's refusal to impose tough sanctions on Syria, such as those proposed by Britain?

Raimond tried his best to convince an increasingly skeptical crowd of U.S. and British journalists that the twists and turns of recent French Middle East policy obeyed an inner coherence. No, France was not talking with terrorists, Raimond asserted; but yes, it was deeply involved in negotiations with Syria and Iran. "We would have tried to normalize relations with Iran even if we had no hostages in Lebanon," he said. "We owe the Iranians $1 billion, and we must pay it back. That is only normal." On November 11 he announced payment of the first $330 million installment.

Normal or not, Raimond's statement indicates yet another turnaround of French public policy. For six years the French have refused even to talk about that debt, incurred in 1974, when the Shah made a loan to the Eurodif consortium for an advanced uranium retreatment plant in the south of France. To add to the confusion, Raimond's desire to accommodate Iran came uncomfortably soon after an interview in *l'Express* with Moshen Rafiq-Doust, Iran's Revolutionary Guards Minister. Doust, whom *l'Express* identified as the man who coordinated the hostage takings in Lebanon, made it clear that Iran would do nothing to free the French hostages until the Eurodif money was paid back.

Just before France's March elections, future Interior Minister Charles Pasqua vowed to "terrorize the terrorists." But in recent weeks there has emerged a store of information that contradicts all the Chirac government's earlier pronouncements on terrorism. Now posturing has replaced policy, and the wildest rumors are accorded more credence than government communiqués. A joke recently attributed to French President François Mitterrand sums it up well: "The Prime Minister said hello to me, but don't tell anyone. It was off the record."

The crisis that Jacques Chirac has faced since inheriting the hostages from his Socialist predecessors is largely of his own making. Following the kidnapping of three French diplomats in Lebanon in March 1985, Socialist Foreign Minister Roland Dumas mobilized French embassies throughout the Arab world in an effort to locate the hostage takers, identify their demands and eventually enlist the aid of governments that had influence in Lebanon. With the help of Abdelkarim Ghraiyeb, then the Algerian Ambassador to Lebanon, a backdoor deal was soon concluded, but not a word of it leaked to the press before the March 1986 elections.

As a result of the deal arranged by Dumas, one of the French hostages, Gilles Peyrolles, was freed on April 1, 1985—nine days after he was kidnapped. The release of his two colleagues was supposed to follow. According to recent press reports, Dumas told Algerian intermediaries that in return for the hostages the French government would help secure an early release of Georges Ibrahim Abdallah, then in Lyons facing charges of possession of falsified documents.

Peyrolles told French intelligence officials that his kidnappers had included Abdallah's brothers, who called themselves the Lebanese Armed Revolutionary Faction (L.A.R.F.) and boasted of their responsibility for the 1982 assassinations in Paris of U.S. military attaché Charles Ray and Israeli diplomat Yacov Barsimantov. Renegade Maronite Christians, the Abdallah brothers had come of age in the camps of the radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in the late 1970s. In 1980 they established the L.A.R.F. Ever since the Abdallah brothers first became active, French intelligence officials claim, they have been under the wing of Syrian General Mohammed el-Khouli, who, along with his deputy, Col. Ghazi Kanaan, runs all Syrian intelligence operations in Lebanon.

Tension between the Socialist government and the counterespionage service, the Direction de la Surveillance du Territoire, or D.S.T., had been running high for some time. A few days after Peyrolles's release D.S.T. agents "fortuitously" stumbled upon a safe house in Paris used by Abdallah, and proudly displayed their find to the press. Police spokesmen asserted that the weapons and documents found there "clearly linked" Abdallah to the shootings of Ray and Barsimantov. Dumas's hostage exchange was in

Kenneth R. Timmerman is a freelance journalist based in Paris who specializes in defense and foreign affairs.

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ruins: now he had a celebrated "international terrorist" on his hands and could no longer quietly expel Abdallah from the country after a brief and inconclusive trial. Subsequent press reports have established that the timing of the D.S.T.'s revelation was far from innocent. The agency had known about the safe house and its contents for months. Dumas's Algerian friends soon confirmed that the deal was off.

Meanwhile, the French had also established contact with a pro-Iranian group, the Islamic Jihad, which had kidnapped two Frenchmen in Beirut in 1985. In exchange for their freedom, the Jihad demanded the release of Anis Naccache, a Lebanese Shiite serving time in France for attempting to kill former Iranian Prime Minister Shahpur Bakhtiar in 1980. Two French bystanders had died in the shooting, which Naccache admitted had been ordered by Teheran. Dumas, again relying on Algerian intermediaries, sent word that Naccache could be released, but only when he came up for parole, in mid-1986.

But the Abdallah fiasco made both groups of hostage takers—the pro-Syrian L.A.R.F. and the pro-Iranian Jihad—wary of a new French trap. It soon became clear that satisfaction would not come only from negotiations with shadowy groups. As a Foreign Ministry official said laconically, "The keys to this extraordinarily complex affair can be found only in Damascus and Teheran."

Undeniably, Dumas and the Socialists were negotiating with "terrorists," and with the states allegedly supporting them. But unlike Chirac, Dumas refrained from public breast-beating on the subject. The Socialists held the clear, and often criticized, view that terrorism could be treated only "at the roots," that it was a symptom, not a cause. As former French intelligence chief Pierre Marion explained recently: "How else do you want countries in the Third World, who feel powerless before our wealth and influence, to express their political demands in the future except by terror? We are fighting the one hundred years' war."

Right up to the day of Chirac's election victory, French government emissaries traveled back and forth to Damascus and Teheran. Negotiations with Syria concerned a French-sponsored development credit of some $700 million. With Iran they concerned repayment of the $1 billion Eurodif loan. Back in France the emissaries explained that their efforts to engage in direct talks about the hostage situation had failed, since "neither Syria nor Iran would openly admit involvement in the kidnappings." However, both governments offered to use all their influence with groups friendly to them in Lebanon once an overall political agreement had been reached. In other words, both Syria and Iran were using the hostages to win concessions the French would not otherwise have granted.

Clearly, the Syrians and the Iranians were seeking something more than money. A top-ranking French official who took part in the talks with Iran, speaking on the condition that he not be identified, said in a recent interview that the Iranians stated their grievances in a series of meetings in Teheran in December 1985, when the groundwork for a comprehensive deal was laid. He said they were "furious" with the Socialists for having joined the U.S. embargo on arms shipments to Iran. "They wanted French arms, especially the Exocet missile," he said. "They were not even asking us to stop selling arms to Iraq; they just wanted us to exercise our positive neutrality and sell to them as well, especially the sophisticated weapons we had already delivered to Iraq."

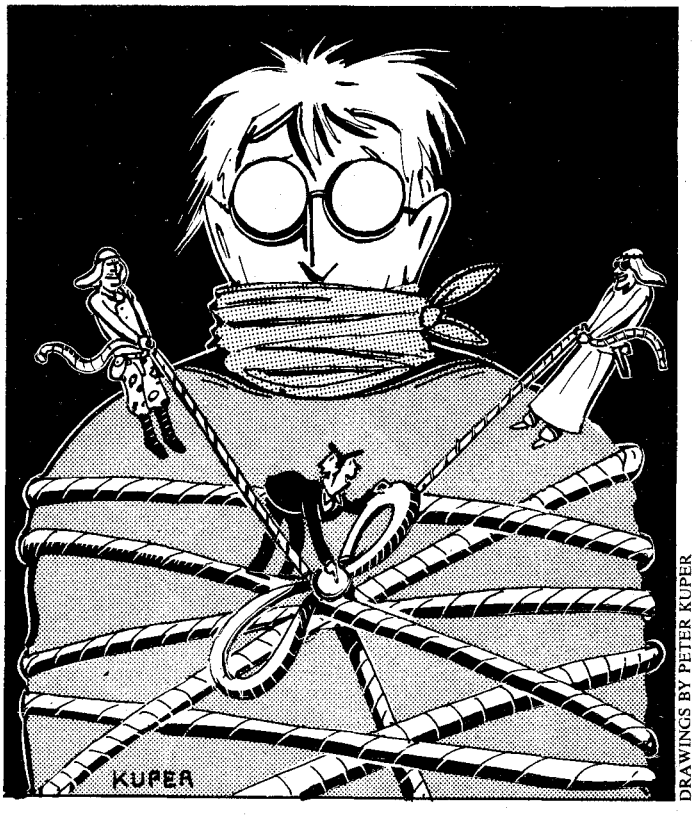
Next, the official said, Iran insisted that the French repay the Eurodif debt in full, including interest. "As an enticement, Iranian Deputy Premier Ali Reza Moayeri promised me he would spend the entire sum in France, in business investments and arms purchases."

Finally, the Iranians demanded the extradition from France of an extremely vocal opposition leader, Massoud Rajavi, whose People's Mujahedeen Organization they termed a "terrorist group with blood on its hands." The official continued:

> Moayeri told me that if France moved to normalize diplomatic relations, including an exchange of ambassadors, Iran would help France to remain a strong presence in Lebanon, and that throughout Islam we would find only friends. He said he would use his forces on the ground—Iran controls all of South Lebanon today—to work for the independence of Lebanon. And that means only one thing: helping to break the Syrian stranglehold, which in the long term can only be positive for the West.

Moayeri's offer may or may not have been sincere, but as Vice Prime Minister for the Coordination of Revolutionary Action (his official title), he was one of those responsible for setting up the first radical Hezbollah militias in Lebanon after 1982. The militias have become a significant obstacle to total Syrian domination there.

Syrian claims on France appear, at first glance, less clear-



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cut. President Hafez al-Assad considers Lebanon a "province of Greater Syria," and sees it as his historic duty to shape the destiny of his neighbor—which was separated from Damascus only four decades ago, when the French mandate ended. In a recent article in *Paris-Match*, journalist Gerard de Villiers said that Assad's obsession with recovering Lebanon was so great that it could be described as "his Alsace-Lorraine."

Foreign Ministry officials have long recognized the Syrian desire to reduce the French presence in Lebanon, and Mitterrand visited Damascus in 1984 partly to warn Assad that France would stand firm. Hostage taking and, more recently, the spate of bombings in Paris may be messages to France that Syrian manifest destiny still counts in Lebanon. But Assad's determination has put him at odds with Iran, and recent armed clashes in the Bekaa Valley between Syrian soldiers and Hezbollah militiamen are only the tip of the iceberg. The growing hostility between Syria and Iran has not made hostage negotiations any easier. The French can never be entirely sure who controls the situation on the ground.

On March 8, just eight days before the French elections, a four-man French film crew was kidnapped in West Beirut. Chirac seized the opportunity to step up criticism of how the Socialists were handling the problem. He called solving the hostage crisis a top priority for his government and declared that he was confident a new solution would be found soon. To speed the negotiations with Teheran and Damascus, he told the National Assembly in April that he would seek to normalize relations with Iran, and that he understood Syria's claims on Lebanon, even though he would not abandon "old friends of France"—namely, the Lebanese Christians.

To prove his good faith, he dispatched two top-level Foreign Ministry officials to Teheran. Those same emissaries had been refused entry by the Iranians only a few weeks earlier. What had changed? The previous mission, instigated by Mitterrand, had been explicitly linked to the hostage crisis. Chirac said merely that the diplomats would discuss "bilateral relations." His tact was rewarded within a month, when Deputy Premier Moayeri arrived with pomp and circumstance for an official visit to France.

Iran was clearly pleased by the change in government. Although Moayeri continued to deny any responsibility for the kidnappings in Lebanon, he again promised—this time at a packed press conference—to "use his influence" to secure the hostages' release. Why? "Since the arrival of the Chirac government we have seen several positive developments," he announced. "We have the feeling Prime Minister Chirac is aware of the strategic importance of Iran."

Moayeri also said his visit had elicited "French promises" about the Eurodif debt and the status of certain "Iranian terrorists . . . who cannot be termed political refugees," widely understood as a reference to Massoud Rajavi. At a lunch with the diplomatic press corps later that day Chirac tried to set the record straight. While favoring normalization with Iran, he intended to remain "very strict" on France's relations with Iraq and the issue of political refugees. The matter of the Eurodif debt could be discussed, Chirac said, but only in a context that would resolve all major financial differences between the two countries.

Once again events would make a mockery of the French Prime Minister's promises. Within a month of Moayeri's visit, Mujahedeen leader Rajavi was expelled to Iraq with more than 1,000 of his followers. In July, Foreign Minister Raimond met with his Iranian counterpart at the United Nations to discuss the first installment on the French repayment of the Eurodif debt. Most sensational, the newsweekly *l'Evenement du Jeudi* alleged that Chirac had agreed to satisfy Iran's appetite for French arms. "This is why an Iranian military delegation came to Paris twice in June and July," the magazine reported, "while a French delegation went to Teheran accompanied by military experts and Defense Ministry technicians." The magazine's source? "The Syrian secret services, which, in somewhat Machiavellian fashion, told a number of Arab governments" about the secret deal. The payoff? Two members of the kidnapped film crew were released in July.

As this flurry of diplomacy was going on with the Iranians, Interior Minister Pasqua sent his own envoys to Damascus. One of them, former secret service officer Jean-Charles Marchiani, met twice with Syrian officials and told them that "the Mitterrand page has been turned." Marchiani also held out a most welcome carrot: instead of $700 million, the new government was willing to help arrange $1 billion in development credit for the next three years—cash the Syrian economy desperately needed. In June, Chirac invited Syrian Vice Premier Abdel Halim Khaddam to Paris.

Various theories have circulated as to the origin of the six September bombings in Paris, but the police remain convinced that the Abdallah brothers are responsible for at least two of them. De Villiers, writing in *Paris-Match*, said he believes Syrian General Mohammed el-Khouli "launched the Abdallah family on the attack" at the instigation of President Assad himself, after activating a network of Libyans in France and "sleeping" cells of the French underground group Direct Action. A high-ranking French Defense Ministry official confirmed to me that de Villiers was correct.

After the bombings, details of Chirac's sub rosa dealings with Syria and Iran leaked to the press with increasing frequency, and Chirac's detractors began to call him Jacques the Blooper. One incident—in the wake of the evidence produced in the trial of Nezar Hindawi for the attempted El Al bombing—involved an alleged attempt on October 16 to sell Assad $500 million worth of arms, including tanks, sophisticated "reactive" armor kits and .155-millimeter self-propelled howitzers. The September bombings were Assad's way of reminding France that he still existed, that he wanted his demands to be met and that France could not deal solely with Iran on the hostage question.

Chirac's efforts to get the French hostages in Lebanon released have taken on all the trappings of a discussion between rug merchants, with Chirac getting the worst of the deal. The wild vacillation of his public statements has robbed him of credibility. Whereas President Reagan claims

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his eighteen months of "secret diplomacy" with Iran were motivated by an overriding strategic goal, a similar claim by Chirac would bring only jeers. Since taking power last month, Chirac has met Iranian demands that were repulsed by previous French governments and has refused to back Britain in imposing sanctions on Syria, despite France's firm belief that Syria was behind the September bombings in Paris. If nothing else emerges from France's current difficulties, it is the strong suggestion that the strategy of groups such as the pro-Syrian L.A.R.F. and the pro-Iranian Jihad is working. □

CAMPAIGN CALIFORNIA

Tom Hayden's New Workout

JON WIENER

Tom Hayden, searching for "a new political center for the Democratic Party," has closed down his ten-year-old Campaign for Economic Democracy (C.E.D.) and has established a new organization, Campaign California. The group will be "less critical of business," Hayden says, and "more supportive of the private entrepreneur as a source of economic growth, jobs and innovation." That emphasis will appeal to a constituency Hayden calls frumpies, "formerly radical, upwardly mobile young professionals."

At its height, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, C.E.D. had thirty chapters and 8,000 members; it was California's largest single organized force on the left. Hayden came up with the idea for the group in 1975, arguing that Watergate and the U.S. defeat in Vietnam had created an opening in electoral politics that the left should explore. His campaign for the Senate the following year was a test of that theory. Against John Tunney in the California Democratic primary, Hayden made "economic democracy" the campaign's standard. He received nearly 40 percent of the total, an astonishing 1.2 million votes for the former antiwar activist. C.E.D. was founded in early 1977 to continue the same strategy. The group planned to challenge corporate power by electing local officials. Its statement of purpose declared, "Economic democracy means that ownership and control will be spread among a wide variety of public bodies: city, state and Federal governments, churches, trade unions, cooperatives and community groups, small business people, workers and consumers." The organization attacked corporations for endangering the environment with toxic emissions; it organized renters to fight landlords, argued that research and development of solar energy were being thwarted by the energy multinationals, and made pro-choice politics a top priority.

Jon Wiener is a professor of history at the University of California, Irvine.

BULK ORDERS

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The November 22 issue of The Nation takes a comprehensive look at the political situation in South Africa and the black majority's struggle for liberation.

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C.E.D.'s electoral strategy met with success; the group elected more than fifty of its members to city and county offices, including Hayden himself, who was elected to the State Assembly in 1982. Other C.E.D. candidates won elections in Berkeley, Oakland, Los Angeles, Davis, Santa Cruz, Santa Monica and three California counties. C.E.D.-backed referendums on rent control won in four California cities. Hayden established close ties to California Governor Jerry Brown, and C.E.D. members held one-quarter of the delegate seats on the Democratic State Central Committee. In 1984 C.E.D. registered 110,000 new Democrats.

Among its other accomplishments, the organization owned the most successful business in the history of the left: Jane Fonda's Workout. Jack Nicholl, Campaign California's director, explains: "C.E.D. never could raise enough money, and was always going to Jane. In 1979 she said, 'Why don't I start a little business; you can own it and make the money.'" The Workout began as an exercise studio in Los Angeles. Then came the book, the record, the video. The original "Jane Fonda's Workout" is the best-selling videocassette of all time; more than 1 million have been sold. The original Workout book sold more than 2 million copies. The profits from Workout videos, books and records all went to C.E.D.

By 1982 the group had earned enough from the Workout to establish an endowment to fund its operations for the foreseeable future. Since then, according to Nicholl, the business's profits have gone to Fonda alone. It is rumored that the Workout earned $18 million for C.E.D. The group refuses to make public the actual figure, but Nicholl says, "We didn't get half that much." One of C.E.D.'s chief activities has been the affirmative investment of its Workout endowment. Nicholl says the income from those investments will be $850,000 this year; the organization raises another $800,000 each year through door-to-door canvassing.

Why did Hayden abandon the banner of economic democracy? C.E.D.'s electoral success was its downfall as a grass-roots organization, he argues; half its activists ended up working in local government in the early 1980s—some as elected officials, others on their staffs or on rent control boards or city planning commissions. Derek Shearer, co-author, with Martin Carney, of *Economic Democracy*, worked on the program for Hayden's Senate race. He has a different analysis: "C.E.D. was not sustained and nurtured because Tom's needs as an elected official had a higher priority than developing the grass-roots organization. Tom didn't want the grass-roots out of sync with his strategy in the legislature." Hayden admits in retrospect that "1982 was the end." That was the year he won his Assembly seat, and George Deukmejian replaced Jerry Brown in the governor's office. Some C.E.D. activists disagreed with Hayden's priorities and took on other commitments; others burned out. Hayden couldn't attract younger, post-sixties people to the group. The thirty chapters, which had recruited and trained activists in electoral politics, became moribund. Thus, closing down the organization this summer was simply facing reality.

Hayden continues to call himself a progressive; he told me that he wants to "build a progressive politics in California that can deliver California in 1988 to the Democratic nominee so we can win the presidency." He added that "those of us who are in progressive politics want to be part of a majority party, instead of a wing of a minority party that's out of power." His strategy in the 1986 election focused on a statewide antitoxics initiative, Proposition 65, to bar companies from releasing carcinogenic chemicals into drinking water. The "Get tough on toxics" campaign, which Hayden chaired, explicitly went after the oil and chemical corporations. "Big chemical companies and major industrial polluters are trying desperately to stop Proposition 65," its television advertisements warned. Those corporations spent more than $5 million to defeat the proposition, against the campaign's $1.7 million. Although virtually all the major newspapers in the state opposed the measure, the initiative won handsomely, with 63 percent of the vote.

Despite the shift in his organization, Hayden says he continues to believe in the agenda he put forward in these pages five years ago [see "The Future Politics of Liberalism," *The Nation*, February 21, 1981]. What's different is Hayden's emphasis on encouraging entrepreneurial activity. "When America was a growing economic power, it was appropriate to be a consumer advocate, a labor advocate, a minority advocate, trying to redistribute the wealth generated by the private economy," Hayden says. "But now the U.S. is in a relative economic decline in a highly competitive new arena called the Pacific Rim. . . . The Democrats have to become much more involved in fostering an entrepreneurial strategy." For that reason he favors restoring tax breaks for entrepreneurs. Hayden adds that such a strategy has to be "tied to environmental protection and employee rights," but he doesn't say how those conflicting interests will be harmonized.

The entrepreneurial emphasis is part of Hayden's political strategy for the Democrats. "There's a class of younger people out there who are successful in business, or who want to be, but who don't want to give up the values they had in the 1960s," he says. "They feel rebuffed by the Democratic Party, but they feel very uncomfortable with the Republicans, especially with their social morality and their military policies." Gary Hart is the candidate who appeals most to this group, and Hayden is a Hart supporter in the coming presidential primaries. Yet union members, minorities and women who work outside the home, among others, have very different interests and needs; why they would ally with Hayden's frumpies is hard to see.

The name "Campaign California" is part of Hayden's new strategy. It was selected after extensive testing of focus groups. Hayden hopes "yuppies, new-collar workers, baby boomers, sixties people"— the target constituency of his new organization—will associate the name with the Eagles song that begins "Welcome to the Hotel California." He may have forgotten that the song concludes, "You can check out any time you like, but you can never leave."

Hayden defends the name change. "'Campaign California' doesn't mean anything in particular, but going door

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to door we found that 'economic democracy' didn't mean anything either. We fell into the oldest trap of the left, associating ourselves with vaguely European phrases and ideas. Our experience was that people could be brought into the organization around rent control, toxics cleanup, child care, pro-choice—issues that embody the idea that people, not economic elites, should have more control over their lives. But people don't understand the generality without the specifics. 'Economic democracy' was incomprehensible except to intellectuals."

"Tom Hayden gives opportunism a bad name." That line has been attributed to Gore Vidal, but the sentiment is held by many on the left, and it is not new. His critics point to some recent cases: shortly after the Russians shot down Korean Air Lines Flight 007, Hayden spoke at a protest rally in Los Angeles. He attacked the Reagan Administration for not being "anti-Communist" enough and called for a boycott of Stolichnaya vodka. "Anyone drinking Russian vodka after this atrocity is washing down the blood of innocent people," Hayden told the crowd, which consisted mostly of Korean-Americans and members of the anti-Soviet Baltic American Freedom League. Members of the audience weren't convinced of his sincerity. They chanted back, "Once a commie, always a commie!" Hayden today says nothing has changed his mind about the K.A.L. incident. He rejects Seymour Hersh's evidence that Reagan lied about Soviet motives, commenting, "I find people who are unable to criticize the Soviet Union to be fundamentally incapacitated."

Hayden reached the heights of opportunism, his critics argue, in July of 1982, when he visited Israel during the invasion of Lebanon. Hayden and Fonda declared their support for the invasion and visited wounded Israeli troops in Lebanon. Hayden was running for State Assembly at the time; Jewish voters formed a key group in his district; a Jews-against-Hayden organization had been put together; and his opponents charged that he was sympathetic to the Palestine Liberation Organization.

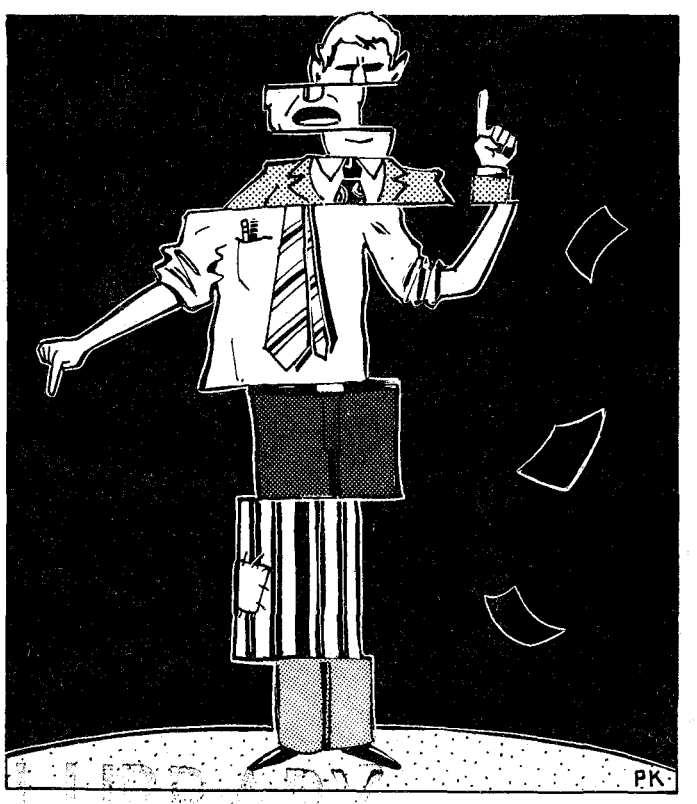
Even Hayden's critics agree that unqualified support for Israel is a prerequisite for Democratic candidates, especially in a strongly Jewish district like Hayden's. "The Israel issue provides an easy way for the left to beat up on Tom Hayden," says Sam Hurst, who was Hayden's press secretary in the 1976 Senate campaign and C.E.D.'s staff director from 1977 to 1980. "But the left shouldn't ask an Irish Catholic running in a heavily Jewish district to lead the Jews toward a progressive policy on Israel. It's absurd." Derek Shearer disagrees. "In public Tom can't say critical things about Israel, but going to Israel while they are invading Lebanon is different. He didn't have to do that."

While people on the left criticize Hayden for shifting to the right, the right attacks him for his radical past. That constituted the central battle of his 1982 campaign. Hayden's opponent in the primary bought a full-page advertisement in the *Los Angeles Times* and reprinted passages from Hayden's 1970 book, *Trial*: "We want to abolish a private property system which . . . benefits only a few while colliding violently with the aspirations of people all over the world."

Hayden responded to his right-wing critics with a twenty-four-page glossy booklet, "Growing Up *With* America: The Life Story of Tom Hayden." It offered a version of his life sharply at odds with what most people on the left remember. The booklet described Hayden's "roots in Middle America," his ties to Martin Luther King Jr., his arrest as a "young civil rights worker" in Georgia in 1961, his role in ending "riots in Newark" and in bringing home U.S. prisoners of war from Vietnam, and his ties with Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown. The centerfold was a four-color photo of Tom fishing with Henry Fonda; the booklet concluded with a quote from Jane: "Great as he is in bringing citizens together, he's also great at keeping a family together."

Hayden's election didn't end the right-wing attacks. Last summer veterans' groups gathered 258,000 signatures on petitions demanding that he be ousted from his seat in the Assembly, on the ground that his four trips to Hanoi during the Vietnam War constituted treason. Hayden "was not a simple, spit-on-the-flag, burn-your-draft-card protester," declared Republican Assemblyman Gil Fergusen, a 63-year-old retired Marine lieutenant colonel. "Tom Hayden was a traitor." California Representative Robert Dornan joined the attack, calling Hayden "a traitor, a liar and a coward." The Assembly vote took place while the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Legion were holding their state conventions, and the two groups turned out 200 anti-Hayden demonstrators at the State Capitol.

Hayden defended himself in an emotional speech to the Assembly. "I am a patriotic American," he said. Legionnaires who had packed the galleries roared their disagree-



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ment. "I'm not the kind of patriot who believes 'My country, right or wrong,' but I'm the kind of patriot who believes, 'My country, let's right its wrongs.'" He told the Assembly that, on his trips to North Vietnam during the war, he "was in contact with . . . State Department representatives [and] with members of our intelligence community" to win the release of prisoners of war. That came as a surprise to many on the left. He admitted that he had "made mistakes" as an antiwar leader: "I'll always regret . . . the way in which my anger drove me to extreme positions." He assured the Assembly that he was "not the same angry young man I was twenty years ago." The Assembly voted along partisan lines, 41 to 36, not to expel him; he was re-elected November 4 with 59 percent of the vote after a campaign that cost him less than $100,000.

For the left, the costs of having Hayden as an elected official are greater than the benefits, Shearer argues. "If there had been an organized left movement that was democratic, it wouldn't necessarily have said Tom should be the candidate," he says. "It might have said the candidate should be a feminist or an environmentalist or a labor person. Another candidate would vote the same as Hayden in the Assembly and could be even more effective because he or she wouldn't be attacked for Vietnam the way Hayden has been. But no discussion like that took place. C.E.D. people were told, 'Tom wants to run.'" As Hurst says, pointing out that electing Hayden to the Assembly cost $1.7 million, "Tom's campaign was like using cannons to ring doorbells."

Stanley Sheinbaum, a Californian active in progressive politics, agrees that the left lost more than it gained when Hayden won his office: "California lost its best organizer when Tom went to the Assembly," he says. Since becoming an elected official, Hayden has to "watch what he says and what he writes," according to Shearer. "Everything has to be guarded." Hayden doesn't dare alienate Democrats in the Assembly; as was demonstrated in July, he needs virtually every one of their votes to protect him from being expelled.

Hayden replies that he's still organizing and still independent, pointing to the statewide antitoxics initiative. "The Democrats in the Legislature are too influenced by industry to be able to take a strong postion against toxics. My choice was to go over their heads, behind their backs, directly to their voters." His defenders argue that his Assembly seat gives him a platform and a legitimacy in pushing a progressive agenda that he would otherwise lack. "Now he's identified as the Democratic Assemblyman from Santa Monica. If he didn't have that, where would he be?" asks Stephen Rivers, who was Hayden's press secretary in 1979 and now works as a spokesman for Fonda. "He'd still be the 'former antiwar activist.'"

Hayden has been trapped in a contradiction, according to Hurst. "On the one hand Tom has an analysis that says liberalism is bankrupt. On the other hand he has a strategy that calls for an alliance with liberals. He has to work every day with liberals. The Democratic Party doesn't like Tom Hayden. It doesn't want Tom. For them he's too principled, too capable, too talented. But it has to deal with him because he has his own base and is powerful. Tom's torment is that he's not a liberal Democrat. He has a terrible time trying to be one. As a result he's floundering politically."

At issue is the future of the Democratic Party. Economic democracy constituted an alternative agenda aimed at restoring the Democrats' identification with the people. Political consultant Bill Zimmerman managed Hayden's Senate campaign. He directed Harold Washington's 1983 mayoral race in Chicago and Gary Hart's 1984 presidential nomination bid, among other campaigns. "This is precisely the time when economic democracy becomes a salable concept," he says. "For the first time in generations we have a common perception that the economy is screwed up: our standard of living is going down, our children won't have the same advantages we did. As a result, there is enormous dissatisfaction and confusion. The problem is to organize that feeling, structure it and point it in the direction of a solution." Even if Tom Hayden has given up that project, it ought to remain at the top of the progressive agenda. □

Spy Flights

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

refused, however, to comment on the frequency of the flights, other than to state that "P-3s periodically transit Pakistan." It also refused to say what form Pakistan's approval had taken and whether or not a formal access agreement existed, similar to the confidential agreement of 1959 which granted the U-2 access to the Peshawar airfields. For the P-3 to use the Mauripur facility on a routine basis, a formal "access" agreement securing host-nation clearance is required of the military under U.S. law.

Unlike the U-2, which was created primarily for high-altitude surveillance of land-based targets, the P-3 is an integral part of the U.S. military's global tracking network, designed to monitor the Soviet flotilla of nuclear submarines. The P-3 is the West's standard land-based anti-submarine warfare and maritime patrol aircraft. While sophisticated surveillance by satellites has phased out the U-2, those satellites have not been effective in sighting and locating submarine forces.

The P-3 has none of the sleek elegance of the U-2; nevertheless, it contains the most sophisticated electronic equipment available in the high-technology world of anti-submarine warfare. The small, turbo-driven aircraft flies at relatively low speeds and drops sonar-tracking buoys that allow it to identify the acoustic signature of any vessel and pinpoint its location. "The United States has the technology available," says the journal *Defense Electronics*, to track a Soviet sub from the time it leaves home port until it returns."

The P-3 can do more than spot a submerged target.

Lawrence Lifschultz is affiliated with the faculty of economics and politics at Cambridge University and was previously the South Asia correspondent for the Far Eastern Economic Review.

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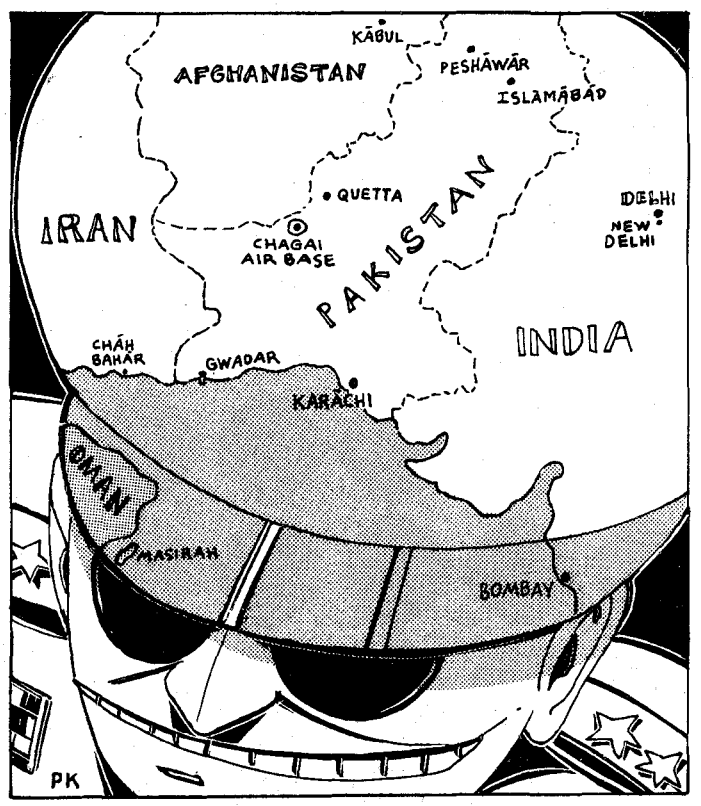
Under wartime conditions it can also destroy a submarine with a nuclear depth charge. The weapon it would use is the B-57, which has an explosive power of ten kilotons—a little less than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. To deliver this weapon to the northwestern quadrant of the Persian Gulf, given the P-3's limited flight range of 1,550 miles and its lack of an aerial refueling capacity, intermediate staging facilities such as Mauripur in Pakistan and Masirah in Oman became an essential requirement for operational planning.

The staging of P-3 flights from Pakistani air bases is one dimension of a much broader U.S. regional security vision. At its center is the emergence of the U.S. Central Command, or CENTCOM, the sixth such command to come into operation since World War II but the first new one in more than thirty-five years. CENTCOM is now considered on an operational par with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the U.S. Pacific Command. Its "area of responsibility" includes nineteen countries—three more than NATO—in Southwest Asia, the Persian Gulf and the Horn of Africa. Its "command area," however, is the entire Indian Ocean, and the territory of the forty-four littoral and hinterland states in its basin.

In the CENTCOM framework, Pakistan, with its strategic location near the Gulf of Oman, has been designated a critical allied role. It has undertaken a heavy domestic military buildup, and its military forces are currently active in twenty-two countries in the Middle East and Africa, playing a crucial intelligence, training and internal security function in parallel with U.S. strategic operations. Nearly all those overseas delegations are in states under CENTCOM.

According to one Pakistani commentator, the country has emerged as "the largest exporter of military manpower in the Third World." Nearly 50,000 Pakistani military personnel, or 10 percent of the country's armed forces, are deployed outside its borders. The largest contingent—a division of 13,000 men, with two armored and two artillery brigades—took up position in Saudi Arabia as a reserve internal security force following the 1979 religious insurrection at the Ka'aba in Mecca.



The enormous expansion in Pakistan's military expenditures, estimated at more than 60 percent since 1979, has been funded directly or indirectly out of CENTCOM-linked aid. In the past five years Pakistan has received $3.2 billion in U.S. military and economic assistance. For the next five years more than $4 billion has been proposed. No other nation has received such a sudden or large-scale increase—at least 500 percent—over the past decade. Pakistan is now receiving more U.S. aid than when it was an active member of both the Central Treaty Organization and the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization. This infusion of money has been vital in securing the dominance of the armed forces in Pakistan and stabilizing General Zia's own position within the army's officer corps, which became unsettled following the coup of 1977.

The aid has had very specific objectives. U.S. military planners have allocated some $14 billion since 1984 to be spent by the end of the decade on facilities linked to the rapid deployment of U.S. forces in the region. This is the single largest coordinated construction program undertaken outside the United States since the end of the Vietnam War. Base facilities are being upgraded in a wide arc of CENTCOM's area of operations, from Kenya to Pakistan.

The Central Command is the direct descendant of the Rapid Deployment Task Force, formed in March 1980, following the overthrow of the Pahlevi regime in Iran and the consequent deterioration of the U.S. strategic position in the region. The command can currently deploy an intervention force of nearly 300,000 troops in Southwest Asia. By 1989, when it comes close to peak operational capacity, it will be able to land 450,000 soldiers in the area under wartime conditions. Some estimates place its active troop strength as high as 600,000. Whatever the precise figure, the combat manpower available to CENTCOM is second only to the U.S. forces assigned to defend Western Europe.

A rapid deployment battle contingent without heavy armor and artillery would be next to useless in any long-term or fiercely contested operation. U.S. military strategists have therefore placed the highest priority on pre-positioning vast stockpiles of military equipment as close as possible to the Persian Gulf. U.S. facilities at the Indian Ocean base of Diego Garcia are seen as a necessary backstop that will warehouse huge quantities of matériel. Yet it cannot provide the tactical proximity that U.S. military strategists seek. A major pre-positioning program is therefore under way in Saudi Arabia and Oman.

Pakistan's substantial role in this program to expand and upgrade host-nation facilities in the region has been shrouded in obscurity. The fact that U.S. military aid is destined to finance CENTCOM-related construction is not

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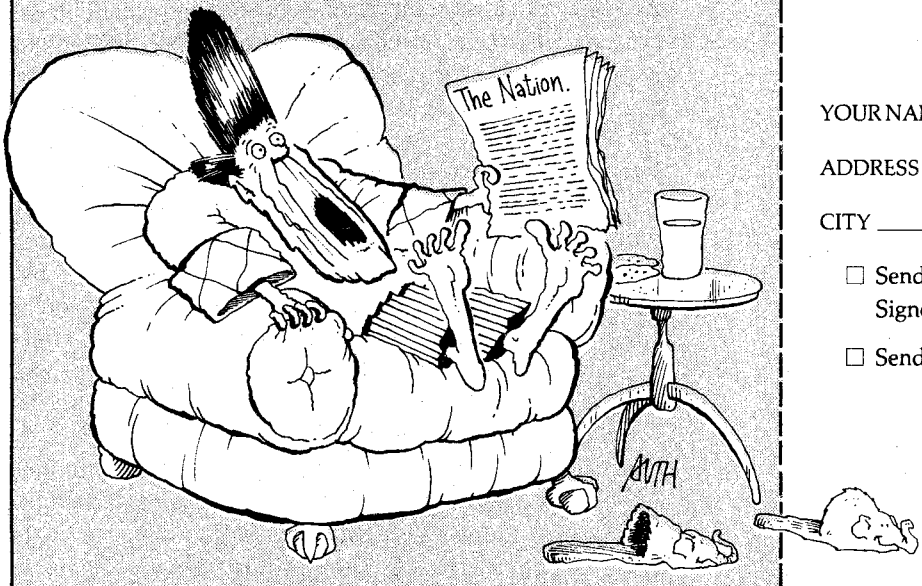

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spelled out in public documents. Instead, the familiar accounting device of burying CENTCOM expenditures in Pakistan's overall defense budget avoids drawing attention to the burgeoning U.S.-Pakistani military relationship, which could have serious domestic political implications. Each of Pakistan's civilian opposition parties is publicly committed to a strict policy of nonalignment and to barring the use of Pakistani territory to a foreign power for military purposes.

In June, Fakhar Imam, the speaker of the National Assembly, called for the restoration of an effective role for elected representatives in scrutinizing the scale and character of defense expenditures. He asked why there was no mention in the budget of large-scale procurement from the United States under a special aid program, and whether the military budget was "beyond the ambit of this house." Imam expressed deep skepticism about the ability of the elected civilian government of Prime Minister Mohammed Khan Junejo to control the national budget in a regime still dominated by the country's armed forces.

The effort to enhance basing facilities appears to be taking place primarily in the sparsely populated province of Baluchistan, which borders Iran and Afghanistan. Lieut. Gen. Rahimuddin Khan, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Pakistan's armed forces and former military governor of Baluchistan has been quoted in the Pakistani press as saying that thirty-two airfields are now under construction in the province. Ataullah Mengal, the former chief minister of Baluchistan who lives in exile in London, claims that the most significant facility under construction is an enormous air base in the Chagai region, near the Afghan border. Mengal says that the base is located at the foot of Kohimaran Mountain, or "Mountain of Snakes," 150 miles southwest of Quetta, the provincial capital. Sources in Baluchistan who have seen the closely guarded base have reported to Mengal that it has a 10,000-foot runway, which is comparable to that of Karachi International Airport. On completion, the Chagai base will be capable of handling the most advanced military aircraft.

Independent defense analysts in Washington and Pakistani military sources claim that the unprecedented buildup in Baluchistan includes port as well as aerodynamic facilities. In 1980 former Chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff Adm. Thomas Moorer, writing in the U.S: military journal *Strategic Review*, called for the establishment of a U.S. naval base at the port of Gwadar in Baluchistan, only eighty miles from Iran's principal naval facility at Chah Bahar. Moorer also advocated the re-establishment of U.S. electronic intelligence facilities in Pakistan, which had been suspended since the mid-1960s. Mengal claims such facilities have already been built at Gwadar and elsewhere along the Baluchistan coast, but the Pakistani government categorically denies the charge.

In fact, Pakistani officials have repeatedly denied the presence of "foreign bases" in Baluchistan or anywhere else in the country. A State Department spokesman said in a recent interview, "The U.S. has not asked for, and the government of Pakistan has not offered, base rights." But those may be semantic evasions. Pakistan's political opposition has pointed out that the bases used for the U-2 flights, as well as the Badaber facility, always remained formally the property of Pakistan and were not foreign bases as such. A retired high-level official of the Central Intelligence Agency who had been intimately connected with the U-2 program confirmed that nearly forty deep-penetration flights were staged into Soviet and Chinese airspace, many of them involving the Peshawar base. During the period in which those flights were taking place, according to Asdhar Khan, former commander of the Pakistani Air Force, his personnel were not permitted within the perimeter of the Badaber facility.

Behind the intense militarization of the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean region may stand a series of false assumptions. The preparations being made to deploy half a million soldiers and sustain them in combat are based on the popular premise that the United States must be ready to insure Western access to gulf oil, which is shipped out through the "strategic" Strait of Hormuz. According to official U.S. sources, however, no more than 5 percent of U.S. oil imports come from the gulf.

In the past decade a vast network of pipelines has been laid across Saudi Arabia to the Red Sea. Similarly, oil from Iraq now flows northward by pipeline to outlets in Turkey. Were a natural disaster to close the Strait of Hormuz, the international oil trade would hardly be affected, except for the irrational panic that would doubtless sweep the world's stock exchanges.

There is no "choke point" at Hormuz, except as a useful rationale to secure public support for a military enterprise second only to NATO in scale. The U.S. *Armed Forces Journal*, while noting the insignificant proportion of U.S. oil requirements emanating from the gulf, argues that "because 20 percent of all the world's oil—most of it destined for America's allies—goes through the Gulf, the importance of defending this region assumes a proper perspective." Yet the most significant trauma to Western interests in the gulf in the past decade, the overthrow of the Pahlevi regime in Iran and its replacement by a fanatically nationalist regime, failed to alter one reality: the Iranians continued to sell oil on the world market and have remained a major supplier to both Japan and Western Europe.

The auxiliary thesis—that Soviet armies are poised to roll southward to annex Persian and Arabian oil fields—snags on the uncomfortable detail that the Soviet Union remains a significant net exporter of gas and oil. Like other major oil exporters, the Russians face an international glut.

Perhaps the real issue has never been one of supply per se but rather how that supply is controlled and marketed. Throughout history it has been characteristic of great imperial powers to mark out the boundaries of a sphere of influence from which all rivals are to be excluded, and within which junior partners are to operate according to set rules. Today, in the U.S. Central Command's "area of operations," we appear to be witnessing a modern and dangerous statement of an ancient form. □

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

The Fact Chucker

JOHN L. HESS

RECKLESS DISREGARD: Westmoreland v. CBS et al., Sharon v. Time. *By Renata Adler. Alfred A. Knopf. 243 pp. $16.95.*

Renata Adler's strange new book has become the scandal of the publishing season. This is a pity because, like so much else about *Westmoreland v. CBS* and *Sharon v. Time*, the scandal misses the point. Or as a figure in the Westmoreland case put it, "We've got the tip of the wrong iceberg."

It is true that while she was writing the book, Adler was herself suing both Condé Nast and *The Washington Journalism Review* for libel, and so she might well sympathize with libel plaintiffs. It is also true that she had been sued in a private matter by the law firm that defended CBS and *Time*, and that she is particularly spiteful toward that firm. And it is true that, while she describes as mortal sin the reluctance of CBS, *Time* and the media in general to acknowledge error, both she and *The New Yorker*, where the material in the book first appeared, declined to entertain rebuttals; the book corrects few of the scores of errors in the magazine, apart from one distorted quotation whose victim threatened to sue for libel. But again, all this is beside the point.

The libel suits were aimed at reversing the verdict history has placed on two generals who led their armies to ignominious disaster. As Adler puts it, the generals were seeking only the "plain, factual truth." In the legal sense, both lost. Adler thinks they should have won and would have but for the aberrant way that our courts interpret the First Amendment. She also thinks that Gen. William Westmoreland was betrayed by his chief counsel—one more case of the military being zapped by civilian cowardice.

What made the trials possible to begin with was the fact that CBS and *Time* had, each in its own way, also missed the point. The CBS documentary *The Uncounted Enemy: A Vietnam Deception* demonstrated what had long been known: that Westmoreland's command had suppressed reports on the strength of the adversary. CBS went astray when it then charged what it could never have proved—that this was a conspiracy to deceive the White House as well as the American people. As for *Time*, its trouble came in reporting the findings of Israel's Kahan Commission, which held, among other things, that Ariel Sharon was "indirectly responsible" for the massacre of Palestinians by Phalangists in Beirut. *Time*'s reporter, David Halevy, was one of many Israelis who thought Sharon's responsibility was more direct; Halevy was gradually persuaded that Sharon had discussed revenge with the Phalangist chiefs before the killing began, and that that discussion was mentioned in a secret appendix to the Kahan report. Ultimately, *Time* did what it has done a thousand times; it reported that "*Time* has learned" what in fact it had only supposed. Sharon leaped on the phrase to sue the magazine and, in effect, to erase the "mark of Cain" that he said Kahan had placed on him. With the help of the court and the media (*pace* Adler), he had considerable success.

Adler goes beyond the paranoid right in assailing the media as a hateful monolith whose nature the framers of the Bill of Rights could not have contemplated. A fair sample of her overheated and convoluted prose: "It may even be that most of what are called, in contemporary journalism, 'investigative reporters,' with their confidential sources, meeting in mythical garages (Deep Throat was mentioned, repeatedly and approvingly, by the defense), are inevitably a kind of rascal." And later, "not just a rascal but a sort of scoundrel." Also, "Journalists are notoriously vindictive when the work of any of their number is criticized in print." All this is of course hallucinatory, as is Adler's delusion that the reporting of the trials was overwhelmingly, or even largely, biased toward CBS and *Time*. Her suggestion that she and she alone studied the transcripts and so got the story straight is equally bizarre. She boasts that CBS's rebuttal to her *New Yorker* articles, which she describes as harassment, "did not lead to (or require) a single change in the manuscript." I noticed only a couple of such changes, but checking Adler is made especially difficult by the fact that her book has no footnotes, index, table of contents or continuity. The famous *New Yorker* fact squad must have surrendered before her.

Adler demonstrates over and again what the media had reported long before the trial and during it: that CBS coached witnesses, spliced tape, played up what supported its thesis and played down what did not. All communication is based on some selection; it is, of course, what I am doing now. But everything that CBS was shown to have done hardly compares with the distortion, omission, supposition and confection practiced by Adler herself.

To her, for example, the evidence on Vietnam suggests that "the military estimates were honestly arrived at, and proved fairly accurate." This conclusion contradicts literally scores of cables, documents and letters, such as the famous message by Gen. Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, warning Westmoreland that the intelligence estimates of enemy strength, called the Order of Battle, were "dynamite" that would "literally blow the lid off of Washington." Wheeler ordered Westmoreland to "do whatever is necessary to insure these figures are not—repeat *not*—released to news media or otherwise exposed to public knowledge."

The figures showed that the enemy forces had grown in 1967, thus contradicting Westmoreland's and the White House's assurances to the public that there was light at the end of the tunnel and that the long war was coming to an end. Adler ridicules the notion that a commander would willingly understate the strength of his foe, though even Westmoreland, no intellectual, could see the point of doing so. Then, in a terrible passage, Adler writes:

> As for the question of including the grandmothers and the children who were members of village self-defense units (or, for that matter, any civilian whose sympathies were with the Vietcong) in the enemy Order of Battle, if the program was right and Boies was right, that these grandmothers and children *must* be included in the Order of Battle, the inescapable conclusion is that these people were in fact army. And if they were army, and enemy army, the opposing army is hardly to blame for trying to kill them before

John L. Hess is a longtime journalist and media critic.

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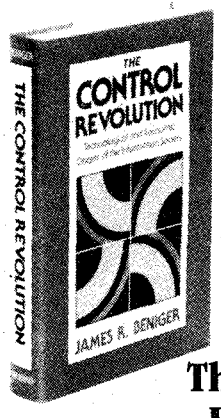

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being killed by them. And the argument from My Lai, in all its ramifications, starts to dissolve.

But of course that *was* what the war was all about. The dispute over numbers and the body count involved the nature of the Vietnam struggle as a people's war, and to make war against a people, in Vietnam then as in Nicaragua today, does involve the slaughter of civilians.

If massacre was only implied in the Westmoreland suit, it was central to Sharon's. One would hardly learn that from Adler. Her only reference to the killing at Sabra and Shatila tells us that the refugee camps were actually "not camps at all but villages, composed of solid structures, with basements." Sharon (though she does not here credit him) also made that point, presumably to indicate how dangerous the camps were. He said they housed 2,000 terrorists, which was why he kept his own troops out and sent in 150 Phalangists to clean the terrorists out. As the world knows, but would not learn from this book, the massacre went on for two nights and two days, while Israeli tanks ringed the area and lit up the sky with flares. On the second night (so the transcript, but not Adler, records) an Israeli TV reporter called Sharon to tell him what was going on. "He didn't say it's terrible, he didn't say it's beautiful. He didn't react at all. He didn't react at all. That is the most bizarre thing."

All this and much more can be found in the trial transcripts, which include pretrial depositions and robing-room arguments, though much of value did not reach the jury or find mention in *Reckless Disregard*. It is curious that Adler, a novelist, could ignore the accounts of the horrors that led up to the paroxysm in the camps, or could ignore the patriotic tension between Sharon, the Israeli Patton, and *Time*'s Israeli correspondent, David Halevy, a dovish combat veteran who agonized over what he considered his country's slide toward fascism. Adler correctly reports that Halevy was once placed on probation by *Time* for an inaccurate dispatch, but omits evidence of Sharon's reputation for dishonesty, backed by this quotation from David Ben-Gurion: "If Sharon could only rid himself of not speaking the truth, he'd be a model leader." Adler spends a lot of time showing that Halevy was evasive on the stand, but ignores the stonewalling by Sharon, who sought to minimize his long, intimate relationship with the Phalange and its prior record of atrocities, and who resisted even admitting that, in hindsight, it had been a mistake to send the Phalange into the camps. Sharon was so difficult a witness, in fact, that Judge Abraham Sofaer made a joke of it, telling *Time*'s lawyer, "I am not as sanguine as you are, Mr. Barr, that you will get anything out of the plaintiff that Mr. Goldstein [one of Sharon's lawyers] was unable to get out of him."

For comic relief Adler introduces the deposition of Josette Alia of *Le Nouvel Observateur*. She says Alia and other European reporters scooped Halevy's story a month before he cabled it to *Time*, making him no more than a copycat. But Alia's story, while rich in incriminating details about Sharon's war, did not contain Halevy's "scoop" at all. What Halevy had reported was Sharon's call on Pierre Gemayel, head of the Phalangist clan, the day after his son Bashir was murdered and the day before Sharon sent his men to the camps. It was then, according to Halevy, that Sharon discussed with the Gemayels their need for revenge.

Adler derides the notion of revenge since, she says, the Phalangists knew it was not the Palestinians who had killed Bashir. She must have nodded off while reading those transcripts that she said almost nobody else read, and must in fact have missed the cross-examination of Sharon, which touched on discussions of revenge the day the killings began. Those discussions took place in Sharon's Defense Ministry, in the Cabinet and with then U.S. Ambassador Morris Draper, who pleaded with the Israelis not to use the Phalange. In Sharon's presence, his chief of staff told the Cabinet that Arab revenge would apply to "the whole tribe" of an enemy, that the Phalangists were stunned by their loss and that "now they have just one thing to do, and that is revenge, and it will be terrible."

Sharon admitted to the Kahan Commission that revenge had been discussed, "among us." Halevy interpreted this as meaning "among Sharon and the Gemayels," whereas a translator for the plaintiff said more plausibly that it meant "among us Israelis." This, Adler says, became "improbably, one of the central issues of the trial." Improbably, indeed. She overlooks what some might consider the central issue, as expressed (also in the trial

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transcript) by the Israeli writer Amos Elon:

> A man who puts a snake into a child's bed and says, "I am sorry, I told the snake not to bite, I didn't know snakes were so dangerous"—it's impossible [not] to understand this man's a war criminal.

During a recess, Sharon jested to Israeli reporters that if *they* were on the jury he'd be worried. For one thing, they were familiar with what Adler dismisses as libelous allegations about Sharon, accusing him of "nothing less than a lifetime of lies and war crimes," including "an incident, in 1953 at Kibye," which she does not describe. (That incident was a reprisal raid led by Sharon, in which a village with sixty-nine inhabitants was blown up. Judge Sofaer told the jury that "there is not a shred of evidence in this case and there never will be that this plaintiff was guilty of misconduct in Kibye.")

The Israeli reporters also understood that Sharon's suit was aimed at nullifying the verdict of the Kahan Commission. For Adler, on the contrary, *Time*'s defense of its story implied that the Kahan inquiry was "a whitewash and a coverup" and "implicated the whole State of Israel." This may be so, in the sense that it may be argued that the impeachment proceedings against Richard Nixon constituted a coverup because they excluded mention of his war crimes. But Adler goes more than halfway to support Sharon's allegation that *Time*'s charge against him was a "blood libel" against all Jewry.

Somewhere in midtrial, the steam went out of *Time*'s announced strategy of defense, which was to show that Sharon *was* responsible for a massacre and that his reputation had not been materially damaged by the reference to Appendix B. There were several possible factors, including the illness of *Time*'s chief counsel, the refusal of Israel on security grounds to permit testimony by key witnesses and rulings by Judge Sofaer barring much testimony about Sharon and about the massacre itself. (Adler describes him as having been "remarkably fair" and as having "exercised an ingenuity almost unprecedented in American jurisprudence.") Unaccountably, *Time* went along with Sofaer's unique instructions to the jury. It followed them to the letter, finding and announcing, first, that *Time*'s report had defamed Sharon, then days later that the report was false, and finally

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that *Time* had not published it in reckless disregard of whether it was true—hence, was not guilty of libel. But it added that some *Time* employees, particularly Halevy, had been negligent and careless.

So Sharon did win. And Westmoreland did lose, having hoisted the white flag before his case could go to the jury. As Adler puts it scornfully, that is what "the lore" says, and this time the lore is correct. And what about the body counts? What about My Lai? What about Sabra and Shatila? In her book they are ignored and the men responsible for them are made out to be heroes. From there, it is only a step to the justification of new massacres. That step has already been taken by the ingenious Sofaer, now counsel to the State Department, who denies that our crimes in Nicaragua are crimes at all.

There remains much to be said about Adler's weird view of libel law and freedom of the press. In sum, she holds that the First Amendment may be obsolete, and that it may be outweighed by the Ninth Commandment: Thou shalt not bear false witness. This view deserves to be paired with Attorney General Edwin Meese 3d's argument that the rights of the innocent are beside the point, since innocent people are not suspects. But we may rely on the media, backward and conservative as they are, to defend their own interests. Who will defend the grandmothers and the children? □

Pathetic Fallacies

BRIAN MORTON

All you have to do to win an argument these days is show that George Orwell would have agreed with you. In the October issue of *The New Criterion*, Ronald Radosh attempts to enlist the prestige of Orwell in support of an argument that Orwell himself found repugnant.

In his article, "Spain and the intellectuals," Radosh attacks everyone who still believes that the defense of the Spanish Republic was a "great cause." His point is that a victory for the Republicans would have been a victory for Stalin.

Everyone knows that Stalin did what he could to crush the anarchist and libertarian elements of the Spanish working class. But is Radosh justified in concluding that because of this, Spain was no longer worth fighting for?

Central to his argument is his assertion that Stalin managed to transform "the once free Republic into a prototype of what became the People's Democracies in the postwar world." His attempt to prove this is noticeably weak. "The findings of historians," he writes, "have helped us to understand just how total [*sic*] Soviet control of the Spanish Republic had become." There follow a page and a half of quotations chiefly about the use of torture by the Soviet-controlled organizations in Spain. While it is true that Stalin had taken over most of the Republic's institutions by the war's end, this is hardly enough to establish that the Civil War became nothing more than a struggle between Stalin and Franco.

Radosh seems to believe the people of Spain should be thankful that it was Franco who won.

> Under Franco's authoritarian reign, Spain reached a higher level of material and social progress, along with industrial and military strength, than existed in any "socialist" regime under Soviet control. And . . . under Franco the working class in Spain had more freedom than their counterpart in any country "improperly called Socialist."

Radosh's purpose is not really to praise Franco, however, but to display his evenhandedness toward both sides. The truth about the causes of the war, Radosh writes, "is not so simple. The Civil War took place because indecisive elections in February 1936 revealed a nation divided in half; the irresponsible militancy of sectors of the more extreme Left fed the aims of the insurgent generals." This is the only sentence in the piece that explores the causes of the war. Both sides were equally guilty: the right was guilty of using force to overthrow the elected government, the left of using force to defend it.

The entire article is informed by this kind of symmetry. "Those who argued that the Fascists killed Lorca—and therefore all writers must stand with the Republic—would be hard pressed to refute the argument of Salvador Dali

Brian Morton works at Dissent.

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that Lorca's 'death was exploited for propaganda purposes,' and that personally the poet was 'the most a-political person on earth.'" The Fascists killed Lorca, and the Loyalists called on his memory. Both sides were equally guilty.

Reviewing the writings of the partisans of the left, Radosh finds them intellectually "weak." By contrast, writers like T.S. Eliot, who "answered by insisting that no side be taken, must be given high marks for intellectual fortitude, and for refusing to ride with the herd." By the "herd" Radosh is presumably referring to European intellectuals, rather than the Spanish workers.

He's particularly scornful of writers who cite Orwell in defense of the Republican cause:

> Alfred Kazin and others make much of Orwell's statement that though there was much he did not understand and did not even like about revolutionary Barcelona, "I recognized it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for." The quotation is accurate, but those who cite Orwell tend to omit the careful distinction he made between the original revolt and the very different reality after 1937. Orwell recognized this new reality full well, and he did not like what he saw. While he heralded Spain of August 1936 as a people's revolt, he had reached the sad conclusion that by January of 1937 "the Communists were using every possible method, fair and foul, to stamp out what was left of the revolution." He went on to cite . . . "the ceaseless arrests, the censored newspapers and the prowling hordes of armed police," comparing the situation to a "nightmare." Does anyone really think that this was the Spain that Orwell saw as worth defending and fighting for?

Since Radosh leans so heavily on Orwell, it makes sense to look at what Orwell actually said about the war. As it happens, Orwell's view was the opposite of the one Radosh attributes to him. He never did repudiate the Republican cause. In "Looking Back on the Spanish War," which he wrote in 1942, Orwell says this:

> When one thinks of the cruelty, squalor, and futility of war—and in this particular case of the intrigues, the persecutions, the lies and the misunderstandings—there is always the temptation to say: "One side is as bad as the other. I am neutral." In practice, however, one cannot be neutral, and there is hardly such a thing as a war in which it makes no difference

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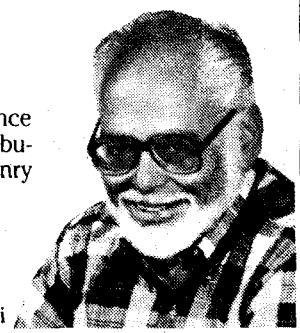

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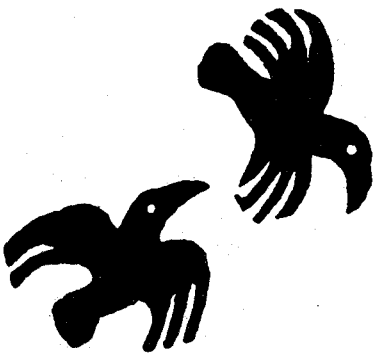

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> who wins. Nearly always one side stands more or less for progress, the other side more or less for reaction. The hatred which the Spanish Republic excited in millionaires, dukes, cardinals, play-boys, Blimps and what not would in itself be enough to show one how the land lay. In essence it was a class war. If it had been won, the cause of the common people everywhere would have been strengthened. It was lost, and the dividend-drawers all over the world rubbed their hands. That was the real issue; all else was froth on its surface.

Orwell's is the key point: despite all that Stalin had done, the fight for Spain was the fight of the Spanish workers. In Radosh's picture of the war, the workers that Orwell so admired in 1936 simply drop out of the picture a year later. In Radosh's view, the Republican effort after 1936 was sustained solely by Stalin and Stephen Spender—clearly not "a state of affairs worth fighting for."

Radosh does tentatively entertain the notion that neutrality may not have been the best course after all. After praising T.S. Eliot for his "courage," he offers this cautious demurrer: "Eliot was wrong, I think, to have opposed lifting the embargo on arms. Despite the tragedy of the conflict—and the evils of Communism—the main threat to the world in the Thirties was that of the menace of aggressive Hitlerism."

This point isn't one that Radosh expands on. It's buried in the middle of an article that begins and ends with expressions of contempt for people who still believe that the defense of the Republic was a worthy cause.

This won't do. The "menace of aggressive Hitlerism" isn't a point that can be tossed off in an aside. If the Loyalists had won, Hitler would have been checked, and the elements within the Western democracies that were inclined to take a stand against Hitler might have been immeasurably strengthened. If the Loyalists had won, the world might have been spared the Nazi death camps and World War II. Is this a minor matter?

As for Radosh's insistence that a Loyalist victory would have made Spain a Stalinist "People's Democracy," how does he know? Unlike most of the Eastern European countries, Spain had a militant working class with deep egalitarian traditions (an "irresponsible militancy" within the working class, as Radosh puts it, sounding strangely like a Stalinist himself). The most relevant parallel here might be Yugoslavia—the only country in Stalin's orbit that successfully told him to go to hell. A Republican victory, and the eruption of working-class self-assertion that would have accompanied it, might have finally given us an independent and egalitarian Spain—a possibility that Radosh, nominally a socialist, never considers. Radosh has managed to write about the Spanish Civil War in such a way as to make both the Spanish working class and Hitler seem like minor actors in the conflict. An astonishing feat.

I keep coming back to that one anomalous passage in which Radosh cautiously says that T.S. Eliot might have been wrong to support the arms embargo. It just doesn't fit with anything else in the article. But I think I understand why it's there. It's a maneuver known as guarding your flanks. When he's attacked for arguing that it was good that Franco won the war, he'll cite this passage and accuse his attackers of bad faith.

Radosh is a master of this maneuver. In a *New York Times* Op-Ed piece printed last March, while Congress was debating whether to fund the *contras*, Radosh devoted 700 words to an attack on the Sandinistas—and then mentioned, in the last paragraph, that he doesn't support the *contras* either.

In the *New Criterion* article, Radosh draws a parallel between Spain in the 1930s and Nicaragua today. The parallel is worth considering. Radosh's view of the two conflicts seems to be roughly the same: although he does not explicitly support what Orwell called the side of reaction, he believes that the cruelties committed by the left in both cases, and the support given the left by the Soviet Union, make a choice impossible. He stands above the battle.

It would be useless to speculate on what Orwell might have said about Nicaragua. But a passage near the conclusion of "Looking Back on the Spanish War" does seem applicable. He recalls

> the Italian militiaman who shook my hand in the guardroom, the day I joined the militia. . . . When I remember—oh, how vividly!—his shabby uniform and fierce, pathetic, innocent face, the complex side-issues of the war seem to fade away and I see clearly that there was at any rate no doubt as to who was in the right. In spite of power politics and journalistic lying, the central issue of the war was the attempt of people like this to win the de-

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cent life which they knew to be their birthright. It is difficult to think of this particular man's probable end without several kinds of bitterness . . . he was probably a Trotskyist or an Anarchist, and in the peculiar conditions of our time, when people of that sort are not killed by the Gestapo they are usually killed by the GPU. But that does not affect the long-term issues. . . . Understand that, and the long horror that we are enduring becomes at least intelligible. All the considerations that are likely to make one falter . . . the inescapable fact that in order to fight one has to degrade oneself . . . the sinister development of Soviet Russia, the squalid farce of left-wing politics—all this fades away and one sees only the struggle of the gradually awakening common people against the lords of property and their hired liars and bumsuckers. . . . That was the real issue of the Spanish war, and of the present war, and perhaps of other wars yet to come. □

THEATER.

MOIRA HODGSON

The Common Pursuit
The Artificial Jungle
You Never Can Tell
Flamenco Puro

The Common Pursuit, by Simon Gray, is a brittle, funny and very nasty play that traces the lives of six Cambridge undergraduates from youth to early middle age. Like the characters in Frederic Raphael's *The Glittering Prizes*, they set high standards for themselves at university and then have trouble maintaining them in the world beyond.

The play opens in the early 1960s, in the rooms of Stuart Thorne (Kristoffer Tabori), a clever undergraduate who, together with five friends, is starting a literary magazine called *The Common Pursuit*, named in honor of the book by their hero, F.R. Leavis. The action takes place in four scenes set at intervals so that we watch the characters aging in their different ways. Each episode ends with some startling revelation, and these revelations, with their attendant plot contrivances, eventually begin to grate. When we find out that Stuart's girlfriend, Marigold Watson (Judy Geeson), has aborted a child she wanted so he can afford to keep pub-

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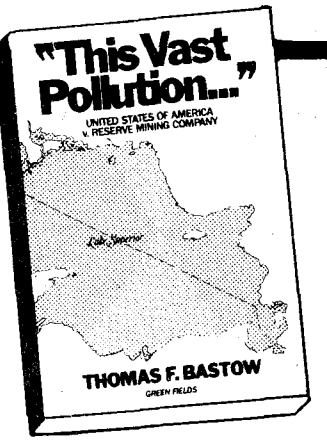

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lishing the magazine, we bristle with disbelief.

When the magazine moves from Cambridge to London, Stuart is eventually torn between compromise and artistic integrity; accused of elitism, he abandons publication. He then embarks on a book-publishing venture with his friend Martin Musgrove (Michael Countryman), a shy, self-effacing millionaire who handled the business side of *The Common Pursuit*. They produce coffee-table books for "people who can't read," biographies ("a short breezy life padded out with photographs and facsimilies") and volumes on nursing, cricket, bridge, Hitler and gardening. Former contributors to *The Common Pursuit* are enlisted as authors, among them a historian, Peter Whetworth (Dylan Baker), who "once had a mind," but who can't even write his *Great Religious Leaders of the World* (45,000 words padded out with pictures) without enlisting the help of a colleague whose wife he promptly seduces. (Whetworth regularly comes up to London for adulterous assignations at the Charing Cross Hotel, with its "wonderful post-coital views of the Strand.")

In an attempt to publish a "real" book, Martin tries to recruit Humphry Taylor (Peter Friedman), a brilliant, glowering Scot, a poet and a Wagnerian, who withdrew his poems from *The Common Pursuit* because they made him "sick." Humphry turns the offer down. He has abandoned his project on Wagner. "I've got the scholarship, and the judgement but not the imagination. Everything I've written about him reduces him to my own sort of size. Which makes him too small to be interesting to me. You see I've discovered I have a slight flaw after all. Moral, I think, rather than intellectual. I diminish what I most admire."

A regular visitor to the publishing offices is Nick Finchling (Nathan Lane), a chubby, acerbic chain-smoker whose ambition as an undergraduate was to become drama critic for *The Sunday Times*. A "literary journalist" who changes his tastes as often as fashion models change their clothes, he gets many of the play's best lines: "One needs someone one hates meshed into one's life."

But for all its veneer of smart dialogue and glittering lines, *The Common Pursuit* is nothing more than a soap opera, a misogynist *pièce à clef* written to titillate the very Philistines it condemns. For like Nick, who becomes a BBC literary talk-show host, and asks his guests to dwell not on a writer's work but on "his friends, marriages, mistresses and other messes," Gray tosses us hints about the private lives of the better-known literary figures who have come down from Cambridge. Do we, for example, detect resemblances to such alumni as Kenneth Tynan, Clive James and Ian Hamilton? We do.

By contrast, Charles Ludlam, whose plays are inevitably seen as jokes, has a great deal more artistic integrity. His latest fable, *The Artificial Jungle*, is a hilarious play inspired in large part by James M. Cain's *The Postman Always Rings Twice*. It takes place in a pet shop (all done up in Day-Glo), owned by Chester Nurdiger (Charles Ludlam), whose wife Roxanne (Black-Eyed Susan), is just as bored and restless as she can be, suffocated by the daily routine of feeding piranhas and cleaning out rat cages. As Mrs. Nurdiger (Ethyl Eichelberger), her mother-in-law, says, "Pet people have to handle things in a day that would put most people in a dead faint." Thursday nights it's dominoes and cold cuts with Frankie Spinelli (Philip Campanaro), a policeman who is their regular visitor.

Enter Zachary Slade (Everett Quinton), a balding drifter clad in Brando T-shirt and fake snakeskin jacket. He applies for a job, giving thrilling innuendo to the statement "I've cleaned more than my share of hamster cages." Roxanne, who didn't get her gorgeous lips "from sucking doorknobs," immediately falls for him. "Love is a disease," she says, "and you gave it to me."

THE BURIAL

(for A.G., 1941–60)

Twenty years after your death
I went to my first funeral,
and then at last I saw the hole in the ground.
Oh I knew you had "died," I knew you were "buried," but I'd
never seen the mound of soil
dug out of the ground and heaped up
dark and terrible as a pile of shit,
waste, as if your body could be waste,
disposed of, buried like garbage in the earth.
I gaped at that hole the way girls used to
gape when they heard the facts of life
late: this thing goes into that, your
mother and father did it and you will do it—
never, they say passionately, never, never, their
eyes wide open and their mouths open.
I thought of the time ten years ago when I
got my first garden, for hours I would
kneel in mindless happiness and
set the bulbs into holes in the dirt and
thumb the seeds in one by one just
under the surface, as a child will play doctor
and put the doll's chopped-off head
on again, play marriage and shove the
girl and boy doll down in the bed and
wrap them together tight with rubber bands, I
took those tapered bulbs off-white as your thighs and
set them in because life would come from them,
the rod of the stem with its knobbed head
red in the Spring. But now I saw the
grave raw as a compost pit, the
long box next to it, the
widow took the topsoil in her palm
and dropped it on the box, we turned and left it there
as if without the soul the body were nothing.

Sharon Olds

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There is murder, suspense—and an amazing acrobatic tour de force by Chester's mother-in-law. Jack Kelly's set, complete with snapping piranhas and Last Supper kitchen clock, is delightful. But no one is more delightful than Ludlam himself, sitting up in bed, his rubbery face under an ice bag, reading 3-D comics.

The laughter does not flow as freely, unfortunately, in the current revival of George Bernard Shaw's comedy *You Never Can Tell* at the Circle in the Square. Shaw's problems as a dramatist often arose when he tried to make a point by excessive circumlocution. He also made a habit of perverseness. As Kenneth Tynan put it,

> Whatever the majority believed, Shaw derided; whatever it rejected, he applauded. At a time when most people assumed that arms manufacturers were cynical profiteers, Shaw gave them Undershaft, an arms manufacturer who was also a radical philosopher; and revolutionaries, in Shavian plays, usually turned out to be capitalists at heart.

In *You Never Can Tell* Shaw takes on feminists. This play, one of his plays "pleasant," was not one that he envisioned as a commercial success. But it became a hit, and he declared it "actor-proof." Unfortunately, it is not director-proof. For in this didactic comedy, where the characters talk interminably but never outrageously, there are long, long stretches of nothing much, that a good director could help along with pacing and timing. But Stephen Porter's direction is languid indeed, and by the end, I felt as though I had attended a performance of *Long Day's Journey into Night*.

Uta Hagen is strangely muted in the role of Mrs. Clandon, a feminist and social philosopher who brings her grown-up children to the seaside for a holiday. She has twins who are insufferable. As Dolly, Amanda Plummer gives the same performance she has given ever since she appeared on Broadway as Jo, the dotty heroine of *A Taste of Honey*, only she's added a touch of Harpo Marx on an off-night. John David Cullum is fine as Philip, her twin, and Lise Hilboldt is convincing as Gloria, their sister who is both a feminist and a flirt. But the two superb performances in this wearying production are Victor Garber as Valentine, a penniless dentist who falls in love with Gloria, and Philip Bosco as the waiter whose son has risen to become a barrister, and who finds his position as the father of a gentleman not altogether welcome.

The best new musical to open on Broadway this season is a revue that might be better suited to a nightclub—a smoky cellar somewhere in Seville. *Flamenco Puro* is so good though, that you soon forget how much at odds it is with the baroque surroundings of the Mark Hellinger Theatre. It is exactly what its title says: authentic gypsy flamenco, unadulterated by other dance forms and presented without gimmickry or show-biz tricks (there is not a comb or a castanet to be seen in this production). It was brought to New York by Claudio Segovia and Héctor Orezzoli, the two Argentinians who staged last year's Broadway hit *Tango Argentino*.

The cast consists of twenty Andalusian gypsies who range in age from 15 to 63. Each of the performers has a distinctive personality and stage presence. Adela Chaqueta, 63, sings in a voluptuous, deliciously harsh voice; El Farruco (Antonio Montoya), fat and balding, belongs behind the bar of a small-town restaurant, but dances with a dignity and restraint that matches the explosive footwork of El Guito (Eduardo Serrano), who is pencil-thin. The women, in costumes that might have been designed by Oscar de la Renta on acid, float across the stage while El Chocolate (Antonio Núñez)—who looks like a cross between Palladin and Clint Eastwood—strangles his vocal cords. Then they break into a flamenco version of "Knees Up Mother Brown."

Flamenco singers and dancers work as soloists. Each has *duende*, which Lorca describes as the power of inner struggle:

> The duende works on the body of the dancer as the wind works on sand. With magical power he changes a girl into a lunar paralytic, or fills with adolescent blushes the broken old man begging in the wineshop, or makes a woman's hair smell like a nocturnal port. . . .
>
> This "mysterious power which everyone senses and no philosopher explains" is, in sum, the spirit of the earth.

The singing, dancing and *duende* of *Flamenco Puro* is a far cry from the last time flamenco reached a New York audience, as a variation, I believe, in the wedding scene in *Swan Lake*. □

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LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 594*)

I'm all for a bit of class-baiting now and then, but contrary to what Don Hazen's friend Sam Meyers implies, I don't want to shoot every rich person on sight. My beef with Hochschild is not that he is rich but that he's behaved like a rich jerk. He shafted *Mother Jones*'s co-founder Paul Jacobs and got away with it, then he shafted Michael Moore and some people think he should get away with that too. There's no reason to grovel just because he pays for *Mother Jones* instead of a Ferrari. Just like a Ferrari, *Mother Jones* is a rich man's toy, with the added advantage that it has tax-exempt status. To appease the I.R.S. there is something called the Foundation for National Progress, which supposedly governs the affairs of *Mother Jones*. Of course, when Hochschild wanted to get rid of Moore, he threw him out, and three weeks later, at a meeting of the foundation, went through the charade of pretending that Moore was only then being fired, after the directors had met in solemn conclave and taken a vote on it. If Adolph Coors behaved like that, *Mother Jones* would probably run a 5,000-word investigative article about it.

Whenever one of these fights crops up in the "Letters" columns there are always spoil sports like Marlon Ross claiming they disdain a good public hanging and would rather be home reading Tolstoy. I like gossip. I like reading *People*. Between it and some of the stuff *The Nation* publishes (I'm thinking of those silly articles about my hero Reed Irvine, and Pauline Baker's recent piece on Mozambique, in which she referred to "the A.N.C.'s incursions into South Africa"), there's no contest.

It's curious the way people seem to think there is something wrong in saying that Hochschild is rich or that *Mother Jones* is boring. They behave as though you'd kicked a blind dog. I think the fundamental role of Hochschild's *Mother Jones* is to act as ideological traffic control, not to extend debate on the left but to limit it—part of the good cop/bad cop routine that keeps the hegemony on track. A lot of the so-called left plays at this role, which is why I sometimes dump on them. But I can't take Ilene Philipson's strictures on left-baiting too seriously. She is associate editor of *Socialist Review* (her colleague Dick Bunce is also *Mother Jones*'s associate publisher), which in its latest issue has a savage attack on Bernie Sanders, the socialist Mayor of Burlington.

You know, the woman *Mother Jones* is named for wasn't so great either. Right after the Ludlow massacre she spoke up for a rich person in the form of John D. Rockefeller Jr., saying that he was not responsible for what had happened in Colorado, the line being put around by Rockefeller's publicist, Ivy Lee. She was hot for U.S. entry into World War I, revered Woodrow Wilson, campaigned against Debs, thought the Wobblies were a bunch of fanatics, was a racist about Hindu and Chinese immigrants, and believed that the "average working woman is unfitted for the ballot." "Give her the vote and she'll neglect it," she said. "Home training of the child should be her task." *Alexander Cockburn*

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S	K	I	N	T	I	G	H	T		C	A	P	E	R
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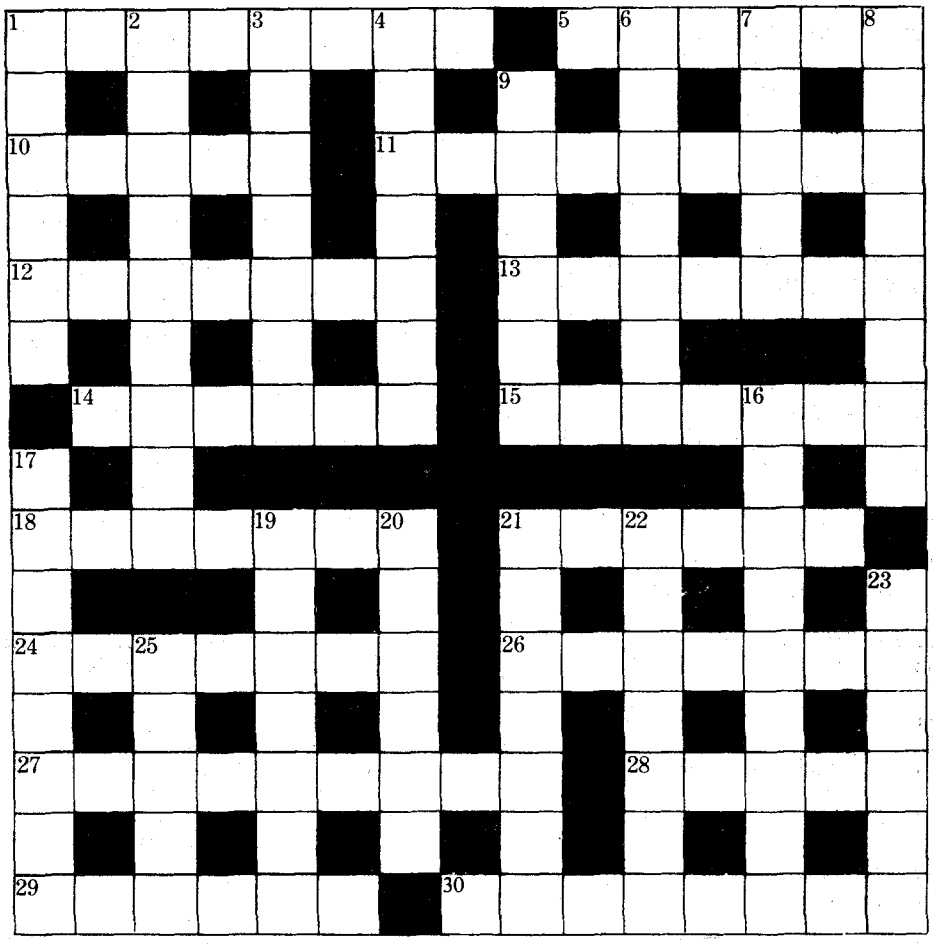

ACROSS

1 People sometimes buy things off them. (They might be used on board, but they don't always tally.) (8)
5 Wave to someone besides Proust? (6)
10 In defense, any liberal might make such a statement, being elsewhere. (5)
11 Hammett's Charles was so-called. (9)
12 At this one might strike a note to cheer one up. (7)
13 Does a rooster part with this—or is that just a vain description? (7)
14 Jumps over things when one of them is safe? (6)
15 Also finished in Mass. (7)
18 As a neck might be broken, you'd have to look like this—sideways. (7)
21 An effort by Peter, when in the closet. (6)
24 With mother around, a cloche perhaps might be more suitable for a person revered for high-mindedness. (7)
26 Arrived by chance in place of Arthur. (7)
27 The sort is sorted for those who perhaps have no proof. (9)
28 A number might be found on hand. (5)
29 In consequence, it might display luster. (6)
30 Refrains from having any dealing with a lad associated with Scott's disguise. (8)

DOWN

1 You might find something unexpected by this—though you might not take one if overcautious. (6)
2 Johnny Reb's counterpart? One might serve overseas under it. (5,4)
3 One version of a cloverleaf, for example? Work around the tree when it comes up. (7)
4 Such people as Pheidippides might be arrested if engaged in certain activity. (7)
6 In 1845 Texas was like a queen—crossed out. (7)
7 There's a lot missing from 26, and nothing added. That's a relief! (5)
8 Hen? Beetle, rather. (8)
9 A sort of power repeatedly brings up first class growth, with white or yellow flower clusters. (6)
16 A little heavy for what was used over the WWI trenches? Just the opposite! (4,5)
17 Bill made with the feet from here each month. (3,5)
19 Certainly not accidental with someone like Mr. Turner on the range. (7)
20 What may disappear when people stand up between two points? (Pass this way!) (6)
21 Is aspic so difficult to make, even for one so artistic? (7)
22 Such people were certainly not early settlers. (7)
23 Conditions as found in New York and New Jersey, for example. (6)
25 Lists of despicable persons? (5)

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